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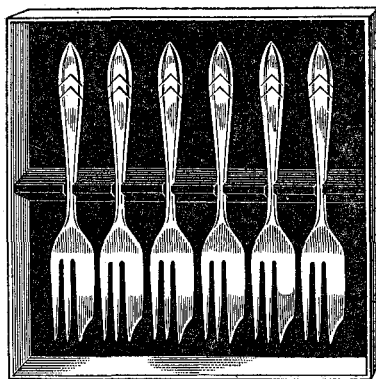


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A Professor of History in a Quandary*

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK

A PROFESSIONAL sense of duty impels me to confess that what I am about to say is to a certain extent unhistorical. It is in fact largely autobiographical. It suffers therefore, for one thing, from the egocentrism and the lapses of memory characteristic of autobiography. Besides, for the sake of clarity, I have knowingly exercised a certain amount of license with some well-remembered but complex episodes.

I shall couch my relatively autobiographical remarks in the third person. For a speaker who is afraid to appear immodest, the third person seems an appropriate, and perhaps pardonable, saving device. Moreover, a too personal document might well fail to have any application to the more general problems of our profession, and I wish, in talking about myself, merely to describe, with as much detachment as I can muster, that member of our Association whose not unrepresentative professional quandary and its resolution are best known to me. Almost every other professor of history in a graduate school has encountered a similar quandary and some of them no doubt have resolved it with equal satisfaction. The very facts that my problem was not unique

* Presidential address read at the annual dinner of the American Historical Association in Chicago, December 29, 1953.

and that my answer to it arose naturally from the existing pattern of graduate instruction in history have induced me to believe that you might, on this occasion, wish me to expound my problem and my answer to it.

The quandary I am about to expose grew out of long cogitation upon the question of how best to train young men and women to become historians. It arose in the mind of a member of our gild who, like a number of other members, not only was a historian and a professor of history but also became a teacher of historical methodology and of historiography. Had he been a free-lance historian, such a quandary might never have troubled him. He might then, without a moment's thought about the best way to teach young aspirants how to become historians, perhaps have found the great satisfaction that may come from writing works of history. Once a historian becomes a professor, however, he no longer may be concerned with the problems of history writing alone. He is caught in a maze of educational inquiries, of pedagogical standards and values. If he bothers about nothing else, he still has to judge which of his students is ready for the next step. Hence he has to have criteria of grading, and history is one of the several disciplines in which such criteria involve questions not merely of fact and method but also of style, breadth of interest, and social philosophy. If in addition to teaching history he likewise teaches historical method and historiography, his predicament is rendered still more perplexing. He then has to decide or have someone decide for him what the relative position of his subjects should be in the *gradus ad Parnassum*.

Although our professor gave more than half his classroom time to what his students would call "straight history," and his writings were decidedly more than half on indubitably historical figures, nevertheless one of his most vexing doubts arose from the amount of time that he devoted to teaching and writing upon methodology. At a certain stage in his career he was giving so much thought and effort to the problems of methodology—to teaching students how to find evidence and to write history from it—that he could not help feeling disturbed when one of his most respected confreres stated categorically: "Courses on historical methodology are not worth the time that they take up."¹ Was our professor then simply wasting his efforts in that connection?

This uncertainty, as we shall see, had by that time long been a part of the professor's protracted quandary. But an equally categorical decision was

¹ Samuel Eliot Morison, "Faith of a Historian," *American Historical Review*, LVI (January, 1951), 263.

made hard for him by a parallel uncertainty that his own courses on historical events were worth much more. His specialty, you see, was European history in the eighteenth century, and courses on the French Revolution and Napoleon do not have in America the attractiveness that they once had before the Russian Revolution of the twentieth century became "the great revolution." Contemporary American society, as the professor had finally been forced to realize, was not greatly concerned whether Marat developed as a radical early or late, whether Lafayette found his liberal ideas in the atmosphere of eighteenth-century France or in the American Revolution, or whether Napoleon was executor or executioner of the French Revolution. A society that is fearful of annihilation and tormented by threats to its free institutions probably cares little whether many a problem of that sort—to which the historian of eighteenth-century Europe conscientiously gives hours of lectures and reams of paper—is settled one way or another, or not at all. Lectures and books on such matters, unless they display dramatic verve or stylistic adroitness, simply do not have the general appeal that those on our national origins or on recent events naturally have.

Nevertheless, the professor was loath to believe that history, unless it is presented by gifted literary craftsmen or deals with national or topical affairs, has no social importance. He found it hard to concede, in other words, that the study of history is of interest only to other historians, if to them, unless it contributes to the development of national awareness, satisfies curiosity about recent or local events, or titillates the literary sensibilities. The popular success of rather abstruse works, such as Oswald Spengler's or Arnold J. Toynbee's, dealing in very small part with American or recent affairs militated against such a conclusion.

As the professor over the years had pondered this problem, the more convinced he had become that the social importance of history, whether or not related to the national development or to recent events, lies more in the way historians think on persistent problems than on either their subject matter or their style. On *a priori* grounds, he reasoned, the world can be assumed to need the lessons of its experience, whenever and wherever those lessons are to be found. And where can those lessons be found if not in the historical facts concerning men and mankind? And by whom can such facts be found if not by the methodical historian? And who can better discern and present the lessons they teach than a historian of a critical and philosophical bent? Even an age of anxiety dares not be indifferent to the way historians—and all historians, not those of national or topical affairs alone—try to give to the lasting puzzles of life new meaningfulness (which

is something more than mere meaning). Doesn't it follow then that what the world wants most of the historian is the ability to think about history as only a historian at his best is prepared to do? Prolonged thought increased the professor's confidence that what American society expects of him and other professors of history in the graduate schools is to teach the way peculiar to historians of thinking about the world's problems. This way of thinking is sometimes called *historical-mindedness*.

But what constitutes historical-mindedness? The professor was aware that writers, historians among them, commonly disagree regarding what historical-mindedness is or ought to be. Some postulate that it is nothing more or less than the ability to understand the past in its own setting, to appreciate history for its own sake. Others insist that it comprises the ability to understand the past in order to throw light upon the present. The professor persuaded himself, however, that the difference between these apparently opposite schools of thought was a nuance of emphasis rather than a genuine antithesis. Those historians who believe in understanding the past for the sake of the past (those whom the French call *historiens historisants*)² must willy-nilly think in the present about the past and cannot rid themselves of their present frame of reference; and those who believe that all understanding of the past is possible only by thinking about it in the present and has merit only because of its meaning for the present (the so-called "presentists") must make the best effort they can to transcend their present frames of reference if they genuinely wish to understand the past. Thus, where the purpose of both schools is historical verisimilitude rather than victory in an argument, they come close to agreement. While the presentist says: "We can intelligently study the past only by recognizing that it cannot be understood except in terms of the present," the *historisant* says: "In studying the past we must identify ourselves with it as much as our conditioning in the present will permit." The difference, as far as sincere study of the past is concerned, need not lead to a *guerre à outrance*.

That the difference in emphasis is very important, however, the professor soon came to appreciate when he speculated on the problem of inevitability in history. As he saw it, a threat of war, revolution, or other historical crisis in which human responsibility is a significant factor may, before it ends, take any one of several different courses, and perhaps the best the historian can do by way of prediction is, through his knowledge of similar combinations

² I was tempted to call this "pastist" school of historians *historicists*, but the word *historicism* is a *Kampfbegriff*, with many confusing definitions (see the forthcoming article in this *Review* by Dwight E. Lee and Robert N. Beck entitled "The Meanings of 'Historicism'"), and I have refrained from adding to the confusion.

of circumstances in the past, to anticipate the various probable outcomes. But once the same event has passed into history and the outcome is known, the historian, if he feels obliged to explain why and how it came about, has to consider all its relevant antecedents and concomitants, and cannot easily escape the conclusion that, in view of the now apparently sufficient or, in any case, satisfying explanation, nothing else could have happened. Obviously then, the question whether a historical outcome should be considered contingent upon human decisions or wholly inevitable depends largely upon whether one looks at it before it has come about or after. Hence, the *historien historisant*, studying an event in its own setting, may reasonably argue that before it happened, some accident or some hypothetical decision other than the ones actually recorded might have changed its course; and the presentist, looking backward from outcome to antecedents, may reasonably argue that the outcome had to be the one that actually came, and no other. The professor was thus led to infer that whether one attributed historical consequences to changeable human decisions or to an inevitable course of events is chiefly a problem of time perspective, as the very words *foresight* and *hindsight* imply. But he was also confident that both perspectives were desirable for good understanding of the historical process, and hence that *historiens historisants* and presentists are not opponents but allies in the war for historical-mindedness.

Conviction on that score was reinforced when the professor reflected on the problem of moral judgments in history. Obviously, only those who feel that human decisions are important historical determinants will be interested in moral judgments. As the professor reasoned, the *historien historisant* is not only the more likely to posit the evitability of historical events but is also required by his philosophical principles to understand the most criminal or stupid behavior in its own setting. Hence he is in the predicament of being obliged to understand, to have empathy with, decisions that he is likely to condemn as having made inevitable some misfortune that otherwise might have been avoided. But how does he know that an outcome was of the sort that ought to have been served or that ought to have been avoided unless he makes a moral judgment? And how can he approve or condemn except *sub specie aeternitatis*, weighing not only contemporary causes but also subsequent effects and hence looking upon the outcome not only in its setting but also from his own vantage point? In fact, the professor failed to understand how any historian who deals with human responsibility at all (and not even the most deterministic Marxist historian appears able to avoid dealing with it) can help judging his characters and, as he

judges, raising the question of their moral justification both in their own setting and in his own setting. Thus, the professor decided, a well-rounded historian can hardly escape being both *historisant* and presentist at the same time. The historian who does not look at the events he is studying both fore and aft is likely to be the poorer thereby.

So far, so good. But in assuring himself that to be historical-minded the historian must seek to be both *historisant* and presentist at the same time, the professor had cleared away only part of his perplexity. Perhaps fuller clarity might be reached if he delved still farther into the precise nature of historical-mindedness. What modes of thought, he now inquired, did society expect from historians that it could not expect with equal right from other kinds of savants? Certainly the historian's first obligation—elementary history, so to speak—is to study the past of mankind in order to preserve “the memory of things said and done.” But whose “memory of things said and done”? The memories of the contemporaries of those things at the time they were said or done? But obviously the librarian, the archivist, and sometimes the amateur collector are at least as well qualified as the historian to preserve the records of what man has said and done. So are a host of experts in certain aspects of literary study and in philology, archaeology, paleography, and other disciplines that our profession egocentrically thinks of as “sciences auxiliary to history.” Systematic preservation, even sparkling reconstruction of the past, are not the preserve of the historian alone. Society must expect of the historian that he do something more or, at least, different. In the professor's logic that extra “something” had to be a distinctive kind of reflection upon the witnesses' “memory of things said and done.” In that case, the function that society expects of the historian is that he be man's remembrer of man's whole experience, that he serve all mankind as the individual's memory serves the individual (Mr. Everyman, if you will) but serve it better, because the historian is practiced in an ancient discipline that forewarns him of the faults of human recollection and so forearms him against them.

Now the individual's memory is not merely a storehouse of things that he has said and done or that have been said and done to him, a storehouse from which he can draw anecdotes and episodes to recount as occasion presents. It is also a place where he stores up comparisons and contrasts between experiences, lessons that he has learned from his experiences, generalizations that he may be able to apply to his own future conduct. Obviously, if the lessons and generalizations are to have validity, they must be based upon as accurate a remembrance as possible and as careful contrasts and com-

parisons as possible. The inference, therefore, seems inescapable that society demands from the historian not only (1) that he keep the records of man's past, and (2) that he constantly check, correct, and keep as precise as humanly possible the remembrance by past generations of their present and past, but also (3) that he constantly check, correct, and keep as precise as humanly possible the remembrance by the present generation of its past, (4) that he attempt contrasts and comparisons of historical episodes, situations, and institutions in order to build stringent categories of man's recurrent experiences, and (5) that he propose generalizations that may have validity for some of the categories of past experiences.

These demands alone, the professor readily granted, require a historian with no mean intellectual talents and training. And yet they imply still another demand. Does not society also expect the historian to apply to his study of documents and events some roughly acceptable ready-made or hypothetical generalizations about human behavior that have universal validity and, in applying, test, refine, and modify them, and mayhap discover new ones? But if he works with such generalizations, the historian, though by older methods, is exploring in a domain now widely staked out by specialists in the social sciences.

No doubt the historian has some of the offices of the social scientist as well as of the humanist. Indeed, much of his usefulness lies in that very overlap. But what special province then does he have that distinguishes him from other scholars and that gives his discipline a substantive existence? One characteristic function that sets the historian off from most other scholars is that he thinks about history as a genetic process—as the study of how man got to be what man once was and now is. But since the anthropologist also employs the genetic viewpoint in his study of mankind, the professor had to define the historian's province still more specifically. The historian, he concluded (as many had concluded before), is distinguished from other scholars most markedly by the emphasis he places upon the role of individual motives, actions, accomplishments, failures, and contingencies in historical continuity and change.

Historical-mindedness then has several facets. One facet—the basic one—is the mental training that enables the historian to extract credible testimony about past happenings from surviving records (preserved mostly by others) and to give plausible descriptions of them in their own setting. Another facet is the learning that permits him discriminately to compare and contrast such descriptions, each in its own setting, in order to distinguish those happenings that are more or less unique from those that are more or less com-

parable. Still another is the intellectual capacity that qualifies him to test others' generalizations and to make reasonably acceptable generalizations himself about those happenings that may logically be placed in a single category—a qualification that doubtless must often lead to error or truism on the one hand or to vacillation or suspension of judgment on the other, and may lead only rarely to an original success. But the most brilliant facet is the skill, in part at least derived from all the others, that enables him to reflect on the genetic forces, individual as well as group and social, in human development. That skill permits him to speculate upon the *why*, the *how*, and the *with-what-consequences* of individual and social behavior in the past, as well as the *who*, *where*, *what*, and *when* of the original testimony and evidence; and upon the *what's-it-to-me* of a historical event as well as its meaning in its own setting. If the professor's reasoning was right, the purpose of society in supporting departments of history even at the modest level to which they are resigned must be to develop not only historians who have an orderly command of historical data and the methods by which they can correct old data and extract new data from old records but also historians who can compare, contrast, imaginatively and critically generalize, and reflect in special ways upon such historical data.

This persuasion was the product of more than three decades of deliberation on the social responsibility of the historian. It had grown upon the professor largely as the result of his pedagogical gropings. Having, in the quest for a theoretical optimum in the training of historians, raised the question: "What good is historical training to society?" and having finally reached a tenable answer, he was now better prepared to deal with the original question regarding the education of the graduate student of history. His experience as a professor joined with his cogitation as a historian to help him evolve a tenable answer to that question too.

Early in his career, the professor had become dissatisfied with those of his own courses that were devoted primarily to the exposition of circumscribed areas of man's past. No matter how accurate and comprehensive such a course might be, it could meet well only one of the several obligations he already had come to consider incumbent upon the teacher interested in training historians; it was designed primarily to present some historical data arranged in some orderly fashion. If it also enhanced the students' desire and ability to undertake independent investigation and to give greater precision to the exposition the professor presented, or if it sometimes gave them critical analyses of conflicting views of the same area, his satisfaction was mitigated by the awareness that such results were largely incidental.

And if in such courses the professor occasionally compared and contrasted the episodes under consideration with similar ones, or if he sometimes ventured a generalization or an evaluation of their place in the memory of living man, he did so likewise only incidentally. In time, he began to wonder whether it would not be wiser to organize his courses in a fashion that would break away from descriptive or narrative accounts of recognized periods of history circumscribed in geography and limited by fairly close terminal dates.

That wonder led to some cautious experimentation. The objective of this experimentation was to persuade students to reflect upon what the professor said and what they read rather than to learn by rote. He sought pedagogical devices which would oblige them to exercise their own judgment—to discard untenable interpretations, to seek compatibility among those that were tenable but different, or to suspend judgment among them when they seemed equally tenable but incompatible—rather than to accept the professor's judgment. In one of his courses he tried regularly to raise for oral discussion some general questions suggested by the particular historical events under consideration, announcing far in advance a set of both historical headings and general questions. But the professor could not hide from himself that class discussions of general questions frequently are hollow, lacking the conviction that neatly memorized answers to hackneyed historical quizzes carry. He also tried to word his written-examination questions so as to require not memorization but a critical appraisal of the professor's presentation of a designated subject—appraisal on the basis of the students' other sources, specified and cited from notes which they were free to bring into the examination room. The results were always a little baffling. By necessity the professor was not only the historian whose class presentation was the common core of knowledge that the students were required to appraise but also the sole judge of the merit of their appraisals. Allowance had therefore to be made for some students' quite intelligible tendency to mollify the judge by tempering their critical spirit. Yet these methods of discussion and examination did a little, he felt, to lift the objective of the courses from a mere presentation of data that the student might be expected to repeat *memoriter* to a training of the ability to compare and to evaluate the different versions of the same subject matter. In still another endeavor to break away from time-worn periodized courses, the professor in occasional offerings attempted to cover the history of a single persistent problem over an extended period of man's existence.

But alas! These devices proved more attractive to the professor than to

students. Students, having to meet examination requirements in traditional geographical-chronological fields of history (ancient, medieval, modern, American, English, etc.), looked askance at his experimental courses unless he disguised them under the venerated names. Only by a kind of subterfuge, therefore, could he continue to do new business at the old stand.

The professor also had learned early in his professional career that some students mean to become good historians as well as to pass examinations. When the better students, he discovered, are not held down by injunctions to find newer and ever newer data on the seminar professor's specialty, or when they are set more or less free to write their own dissertations, they sometimes (though usually as incidentally as the professor in his period courses) compare, contrast, generalize, evaluate, and attempt causal and genetic explanations. And so he was pleased when the opportunity came to him, after the withdrawal of a distinguished colleague, to give a course on the writing of history, or historical methodology. Now at last, he thought, he would have the opportunity to teach formally the several things in addition to historical data that are needed to make young historians historical-minded.

Alas, again, and (this time) also alack! Courses in historical methodology are apt to pull in two not always concurrent directions. The instructor has to teach not only the techniques of historical research but also the elements of historical composition. The professor's dilemma regarding this course has already been mentioned. Today, after twenty years of teaching the writing of history, he has to confess that his best work in connection with it may be described as that of an editor. This kind of work certainly has a place somewhere in the training of historians, but it was not calculated to diminish the professor's pedagogical quandary. He found that he had to spend so much of his time stressing such things as the choice of a suitable subject, proper usage in footnotes and bibliographies, and the composing of a concise, readable, and logical historical argument that he had little time left for such things as contrast, comparison, evaluation, generalization, and genetic approach. He went to great pains, to be sure, to talk about the need for imagination in the historian who wishes to fill the gaps between his evidence and the must-have-beens, between the bone-dry confirmable testimony and the probable causal explanation, between the *who-doing-what-where-and-when* of the narrative and the *of-what-significance* of the evaluation. Practical considerations, however, such as the desirability of limiting the scope and size of student reports, quickly offset the possible effectiveness of his exhortations to be imaginative and meaningful. Holding that students

can master in a single course the careful analysis of testimony and the compact presentation of the results of that analysis only if the subjects they investigate are simple ones of no world-shaking import, the professor insisted upon their approaching complexities, if at all, with the greatest caution. In consequence, he was often constrained to wonder whether he had not discouraged some potentially imaginative historians, whether the compiling of well-documented answers to pin-point questions had not robbed some potentially bold spirits of the courage to make petty mistakes in the quest for grand answers.

More recently, it fell to the professor's lot to give a course in historiography that had acquired a well-deserved reputation under his predecessor. Here at last, he hoped, would be the opportunity to cultivate the historical mind. He would lecture on the great historians and philosophers of history that he knew or knew about, show how they had handled the problems of research in historical records, of contrast, comparison, and generalization of historical data, and of genesis, continuity, and change in historical developments; and meanwhile, each student, by independently studying one good recent historian, might acquire an intimate acquaintance with the workings of the historical mind.

The results this time called for neither an *alas* nor an *alack*. As the professor tripped—both in the figurative and the literal sense of that word—from Thucydides through Augustine, Montesquieu, Hegel, and Marx down to Toynbee in sixteen easy lectures or eight hard ones, each student had a chance to become acquainted with the mind of some historian who had lived in the twentieth century and to write a paper about him. The course was not, to be sure, the ideal answer to the professor's quandary. Unless one did not object to duplicating effort by assigning the same historian to two or more students or running the risk of second-hand papers on historians of whom first-rate studies were already available in print, the number of historians suitable for such historiographical reports was limited. On the theory that some shop-worn subjects are more worth study than some that are new because they are so unimportant as to have escaped attention, the professor was willing to run the risk of duplication and of second-hand work. Nevertheless, on occasion a first-rate student was obliged to settle for a second-rate historian. And, it must be admitted, from time to time an excellent and quite alive historian ended up in the historiography seminar with a pretty dull obituary, through no fault of his own.

And yet the professor's expectations have been met to his greater satisfaction by this course on historians than by his courses on historical periods

or on the writing of history. Doubtless the fact that the students in this course are more advanced provides part of the explanation of their more satisfying performance. But it does not provide the whole explanation. Students in this course, as they trace the growth of a mature historian's mind, acquire by direct and deliberate intent some sense of the qualities that constitute historical-mindedness in addition to those needed in the analysis of testimony and the composition of historical writings—some sense of the need to suspend judgment when a satisfactory explanation is lacking, and of the provisional tenability of more than one qualified interpretation of the same historical data; some sense of the imaginative faculty that goes into answering the questions of *why*, *how*, and *to-what-good*; some sense of an episode's meaningfulness in the student's own setting as well as its meaning in its own setting.

At length the professor was able to formulate a practicable answer to his pedagogical query, an answer that was neither strange nor new, for it was already implicit in the graduate-school curriculum of his and other universities. For the training of the kind of historian the professor wanted, the proper study of "historiankind" is the historian; and to that study the data of period and regional history, and practice in the writing of history bear somewhat the same relationship as arithmetic and geometry to the study of higher mathematics. Echoing his mentor Carl Becker, the professor has come to believe: "Now that I am old the most intriguing aspect of history turns out to be neither the study of history [i.e., the mechanics of research] nor history itself [i.e., the significance of events], . . . but rather the study of the history of historical study."³

Yet, although the significance of historical events and the mechanics of historical research may well be less intriguing than the study of the history of historical study, they are nevertheless indispensable to it. Tentatively at least, the professor seems to be satisfied with a three-level program of graduate training for historians that is not a radical departure from the general trend. Although he grants that all three levels may well be worked at the same time and even, with varying emphasis, in the same courses, nevertheless he looks upon them as elementary, secondary, and advanced. At the first level prospective historians would learn about events and the differing interpretations of events in the so-called "straight history" courses. Such courses perhaps should have much less part than they now usually do have in our graduate schools, unless they deviate from place-time limitations to trace single problems or lines of development through history wherever they oc-

³ "What Is Historiography?" *American Historical Review*, XLIV (October, 1938), 20.

cur. At the second level, students would learn about the mechanics of research (perhaps both in general courses labeled "methodology" and in specialized courses labeled "seminar"). A few such courses should be available in a graduate school, but their number should be restricted, since supervision of dissertations will provide personal instruction at this level. Increasing (and ultimately major) stress in graduate schools should go to the study of historians—their persistent problems, their tentative answers, their methods and workmanship, their reflections, their generalizations, their philosophies of continuity and change, their comparisons and analogies, their judgments of men and manners and institutions, their triumphs and failures as persons and as scholars, and even their prophecies.

Such historiography courses may vary. They may deal, for example, with the several historians of a given subject, or with great historians regardless of subject, or with selected philosophies of history, or with a single historian regarded as worthy of special attention. The accumulation of data regarding historians, however, must not become the principal objective of such courses. For historiography is not in itself the goal of the formal training of historians but rather, together with history and historical method, it is the stuff necessary for thinking about the past with the insight peculiar to the historian.

A society inquisitive about its past makes room for all kinds of historians. It generally shows a decent respect for the kind that is content to be no more than a scrupulous practitioner of a descriptive science; and it sometimes grants substantial rewards to the talented teller of authenticated tales. But the anxieties of our day persistently suggest that historians, young and old, while striving to grasp the ever accumulating knowledge of our ever accumulating past, shall also reach for some tiny fragment of the wisdom so sorely needed to make of "all our yesterdays" something more luminous than a befooling light along "the dusty way to death." Historians have the right to answer to the anxious demands for guidance: "What you ask is hard to give, and we can not give it well." But who dares say: "Because good guidance is hard for historians to give, let them not learn how to give it"? Rest assured that just as every man is his own historian, every man, in and out of our graduate schools, for better or for worse also is his own philosopher of history. All the professor recommends is that, in a somewhat more systematic way than has been customary hitherto, graduate departments of history try to teach those who are prepared and whom they can reach how at least some of the better historians put their minds to work upon the continuing problems of human existence.

The opinion of Alfred North Whitehead seems to be in order here:

Your learning is useless to you till you have lost your textbooks, burnt your lecture notes, and forgotten the minutiae which you learnt by heart for the examination. What, in the way of detail, you continually require will stick in your memory as obvious facts like the sun and moon; and what you casually require can be looked up in any work of reference. . . . It should be the chief aim of a university professor to exhibit himself in his own true character—that is, as an ignorant man thinking, actively utilizing his small store of knowledge.⁴

The minutiae learned by heart even in a historiography course will doubtless quickly be forgotten. And doubtless too some professors of historiography will fail to exhibit themselves in their “own true character” as ignorant men thinking. But because some good historians will be, so to speak, understudying the professors and exhibiting themselves in their own true character, the aspirant professor of history perhaps will learn how he too, despite his ignorance, may take thought, and “thinking, actively utilize his small store of knowledge.”

Over 2,300 years ago Thucydides laid upon the historian the obligation to present “an exact knowledge of the past as an aid to the interpretation of the future.”⁵ No matter how many new disciplines have arisen or may arise to study human behavior, that obligation has not yet ended. What newcomer has a better set of precedents and protagonists to justify a license to chart humanity’s frustrations and achievements or to pilot the course of humanity’s perpetual aspirations after the good, the true, and the beautiful? And so, let the historian preserve all due regard for the minutiae of the past in their own setting, but let him not be overwhelmed by them. And let him also pray for the courage combined with the humility necessary to employ his historical training and insight as well as he can for the guidance of an unmoored society seeking firmer anchorage.

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⁴ *The Aim of Education, and Other Essays* (New York, 1929), pp. 42 and 58.

⁵ *The Peloponnesian War* (New York, Modern Library, 1934), p. 14.

Earl Fitzwilliam and the Corn Laws*

DAVID SPRING

THE city in arms against a countryside tenaciously opposed to reform, farmer and squire resolutely allied and equally devoted to the cause of high prices and high rents, such in broad outline, until quite recently, has been the conventional account of the agitation against the Corn Laws in Victorian England. There has been more than a little of Manchester philosophy in the telling of the story, and this may account for a somewhat deceptive neatness that only a touch of myth can bring to the rough edges of historical reality. Seen from another point of view, from the land and its politics instead of from the city, historians in the past several years have shown how profitable it is to look at this old subject in a new way. I have in mind the work of Mr. Mosse on the Anti-League and, especially, the illuminating essays by Mr. Kitson Clark: "The Electorate and the Repeal of the Corn Laws," and "The Repeal of the Corn Laws and the Politics of the Forties."¹ In these Mr. Kitson Clark has provided students of nineteenth-century England with a map of a difficult terrain that henceforth they will all have to use. My own aim is by comparison a most humble one: merely to draw in a few contour lines, perhaps a trifle more distinctly.

I hope to do this by exploring the mind and career and landed possessions of a great Whig magnate who saw fit to devote a good part of his life to attacking the Corn Laws. He was Charles William Wentworth Fitzwilliam, fifth Earl Fitzwilliam, whose life spanned the years 1786 to 1857. He sat in the House of Commons as Lord Milton from 1806 to 1833, Whig member for the county of Yorkshire for most of that time, and a critic of agricultural protection for the last eight years of it. In 1833 he succeeded to vast landed estates, but persisted in denouncing the Corn Laws, despite the more hostile atmosphere of the House of Lords. The ideas and activities of this landed aristocrat should furnish some insight into the workings of the aristocratic mind, especially the Whig aristocratic mind, on the central issue of the Corn Laws.

* This paper was read at the Anglo-American Conference of Historians, July, 1953.

¹ George L. Mosse, "The Anti-League: 1844-1846," *Economic History Review*, XVII (1947), no. 2; George Kitson Clark, "The Electorate and the Repeal of the Corn Laws," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1951; "The Repeal of the Corn Laws and the Politics of the Forties," *Economic History Review*, 2d Ser., IV (1951), no. 1.

In addition to an Irish estate of some 80,000 acres the Fitzwilliams were masters of large English properties. The title of their eldest son came from the family's ancestral estate in the Midlands. Milton House, a pleasant mixture of old and new in architecture, the family seat since the sixteenth century, was in the 1830's the center of an estate of roughly 24,000 acres. These were chiefly farming land: flat, fertile, and green, untouched by the grime of industrialism and secure against the clamor of the city. Peterborough sat close to Milton House, a quiet market and cathedral town in which the Fitzwilliams held a good part of the ground rents, as they did in Higham Ferrers, a place much like Peterborough.² Very different, however, were the Fitzwilliam estates in Yorkshire which had fallen to the earl's father in 1782 as the nephew and heir of the marquis of Rockingham. These were, in order of importance, Wentworth Woodhouse in the West Riding, and Malton, not far from the city of York.

The Malton estate was comparatively small in acreage, boasted no family residence, and was more like Milton than Wentworth Woodhouse. Its economy and society were mainly agricultural, and its principal town, like Peterborough, was a pocket borough returning members of Parliament in the family interest. But Malton also struck a note of enterprise alien to the rural simplicities of Milton, for the Fitzwilliams and their agents had built a canal on the Derwent River and by 1830 rented a fleet of sloops to middlemen to carry the corn, butter, and bacon of the region to Leeds and Wakefield and the port of Hull. The yearly profits of the canal formed a substantial part of Malton's returns to the Fitzwilliam exchequer.³

On the Wentworth Woodhouse estate, about 19,000 acres in size, economic activities remote from the conventional life of the countryside were conspicuous. Agriculture, however, was by no means absent: indeed for many years after 1830 farm rents outweighed revenues from other sources. But the estate lay close to Sheffield and Rotherham—towns that made steel and iron—and under the land of the Fitzwilliams ran the great Barnsley seam of coal as well as seams of ironstone. Inevitably the earth was made to yield up produce other than corn, and the scene was a far cry from the green and smiling domesticity of Milton. The big house itself, reputedly the largest in England, seemed to breathe the difference. The bleak, barrack-like, Palladian grandeur of Wentworth Woodhouse brooded darkly over the land, a majestic monument to toil and power.

² This account of the Milton estate is derived from the Milton MSS, in the possession of the Northamptonshire Record Society, Lamport Hall, Lamport, Northamptonshire.

³ This account of the Malton estate is derived from the Wentworth Woodhouse MSS, in the possession of the Sheffield City Library. This and other references to these documents are made by courtesy of Earl Fitzwilliam and the Trustees of the Wentworth Woodhouse estate.

By 1830 coal was leaving its black trail in the lanes, villages, and fields of the Wentworth Woodhouse estate. Unlike most of the landed families, whose tastes did not run to the management of mineral property, the Fitzwilliams operated some of their mines, both coal and iron.⁴ As yet these were less than flourishing: serious technical problems stood in the way, and local competition was severe. But since the latter decades of the eighteenth century the works at Wentworth Woodhouse had grown appreciably. The number of hands employed multiplied several times over; lines of coal railway were laid down to bring the coals from the pit mouth to newly dug canals; and blast furnaces for the manufacture of pig iron sprang up, some leased to ironmasters and others kept going by the Fitzwilliam agents. This was an elaborate bustling enterprise, heralding a new age, but organized and administered by the representatives of an older time.⁵

Earl Fitzwilliam was variously fitted to oversee these great possessions. For one thing his mind was well stocked, vigorous, and feverishly curious. Intellectual sloth he took as verging on moral iniquity, and his diaries reveal a wide, systematic reading which easily puts to shame our own hurried, discursive habits, and which was relentlessly pursued in the midst of his travels and public duties.⁶ Novels were frivolous, suitable for young ladies and governesses. Some modern poetry and Shakespeare were pleasant enough, but plainly these were not the sources of his mind's chief excitement; for the bulk of his reading lay in the ancient classics, read and reread, year in and year out, and in modern philosophy, history, and political economy.

In these last, good Whig that he was, his diaries tell the story of the nurturing of a Whiggish mind: Locke's metaphysics, Paley's theology, Burke's politics, the English revolutions of the seventeenth century (studied partly in his ancestor's, the earl of Strafford's, letters in the muniment room of Wentworth Woodhouse), and—what was less usual even in a Whig education—the economics of Adam Smith, Say, and Ricardo. *The Wealth of Nations* had been carefully perused, and copious extracts made, by 1811; Ricardo's work the earl finished in 1823, as he traveled from Milton to York.⁷ How much the earl gained from scanning the Ricardian subtleties it is hard to say. But the future critic of the Corn Laws could not have helped learning much from Adam Smith, and perhaps a little from Ricardo.

⁴ See David Spring, "The English Landed Estate in the Age of Coal and Iron: 1830-1880," *Journal of Economic History*, XI (1951), no. 1.

⁵ This account of the Wentworth Woodhouse estate is derived from the Wentworth Woodhouse MSS.

⁶ MSS Diaries of fifth Earl Fitzwilliam, in the possession of Earl Fitzwilliam, Milton House, Peterborough.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1823.

There seemed no end to what the earl was willing to learn; for still another side of his mind turned an almost child-like regard on the workings of nature. To our tired and sophisticated eyes there is bound to be something ludicrous in the spectacle of a grown man boyishly fascinated by thermometers and barometers, eagerly measuring the diameters of the rings of trees blown down at Milton, or—at the very close of his life, an ailing man in search of health at Folkestone—solemnly throwing pieces of wood into the sea to observe the speed of the tide and equally solemnly entering his observations in his diary. But the earl's age was still a time of innocence, when men took all knowledge for their province, casting a hopeful eye on science, confidently awaiting the disclosure of new wonders from the ever-moving boundaries of the universe.

Inevitably the new technology of the Industrial Revolution caught his eager attention. Homer and the Greek dramatists, Livy, Xenophon, and Polybius, had to make room for Playfair's *Outlines of Natural Philosophy* and Tredgold's *The Steam Engine*, the latter providing him for the first time, the earl wrote, with a satisfactory knowledge of steam engines, although he regretted that his slight acquaintance with algebra did not permit him to pursue Tredgold's calculations. Notwithstanding his deficiency in algebra, the earl was able to carry on technical discussions with his agents at Wentworth Woodhouse. These transactions dealt in the problems of opening a new coal pit, the proper kind of iron for the wheels of the coal cars, the calculation of the stresses and strains on the beams used in a private railway.⁸ The world of colliery viewers and surveyors was thus by no means closed to the earl, and his nomination to the presidency of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1831 was not unfitting.

Plainly the earl's was a well-furnished mind, equal to the business of a great estate. In this no small help came from that deep, evangelical piety that informed his mode of life. Fitzwilliam was no Regency dandy: gambling, mistresses, and other forms of pleasure and extravagance, all these he avoided, breathing the spirit of that later and more respectable age ushered in by Victoria and Albert. "Praise God Barebones" Fitzwilliam, the caustic Creevey called him;⁹ "he has a long lank countenance . . . and a solemn puritanical air," remarked Lord Hatherton.¹⁰ More sympathetic observers, however, who knew him better, were struck by an appearance and disposition

⁸ Wentworth Woodhouse MSS, *passim*.

⁹ Creevey to Miss Ord, May 29, 1834, in Sir H. Maxwell, ed., *The Creevey Papers* (London, 1904), II, 277.

¹⁰ Arthur Aspinall, ed., *Three Early Nineteenth Century Diaries* (London, 1952), p. 103.

that were both austere and simple.¹¹ And indeed the outward man bore faithful witness to the inner. Reluctant to abase himself before anyone in the land, instinctive humility before an omnipresent God brought to Fitzwilliam a sharp sense of the obligations of a pious Christian to his fellows. Hence the prudent and paternal management of his estates, for this was God's work on earth and he was God's servant. This unadorned piety touched the mind of the earl in its most secret recesses.

One should hasten to add that Fitzwilliam had no taste for social leveling; but he never left off feeling the responsibility of his high station. The ruler of a minor principality, a kind of miniature England, he saw himself the trustee of those several interests—landed, commercial, and so on—that found their being somewhere on his broad acres. As a member of the House of Commons he took his position to be no different. After all, he was a reverent disciple of Edmund Burke, and the first editor of the master's correspondence. Burke had taught the duty of a member of Parliament to take the national view, to mediate among the interests that made up the commonwealth. As lord of Wentworth Woodhouse and Milton, Earl Fitzwilliam was ready to practice what Burke had preached.

As Fitzwilliam saw it, the national view in economic affairs inevitably made a wide place for commerce and industry. Agriculture, he wrote in 1821, might be the base of England's prosperity but "manufacture was the shaft and commerce the capitol of that column, and if the shaft and capitol were destroyed the base would be useless."¹² In this prospect the earl found no pleasure. An England merely agricultural, deprived of her prosperous towns and swarming population, would be but another Poland, at best another France. In 1819 he returned from a tour of several months on the Continent, and the patriot in him swelled with pride at what came to his eye: "the manifest industry of the people . . . the number of handbills and advertisements upon every vacant wall . . . the flagged pavements in the towns . . . how different is the state of society in England from that on the Continent."¹³

Earl Fitzwilliam early convinced himself that an economy of free trade would best nourish and preserve this pleasant scene. His argument was plainly Adam Smith's, as Fitzwilliam once confessed to a House of Commons which he charged with ignoring the wisdom of the great economist. Trade, the earl said, was the main thing, a trade free and vigorous, that would

¹¹ Hon. Mrs. Hugh Wyndham, ed., *Correspondence of Sarah Spencer, Lady Lyttelton, 1787-1870* (London, 1912), p. 417.

¹² MSS Diaries, June 14, 1821.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Apr. 8, 1819.

inevitably bring wealth and prosperity to England as well as to European nations. The system of restrictions clogged the flow of profitable commerce by impeding a beneficial division of labor and employing a nation's capital to less than full advantage. It followed that imposts on commerce and manufacture were the enactments of a barbarous past, barriers in the way of civilization's advance.¹⁴

Careful reading of the *Wealth of Nations* should have warned Fitzwilliam that even merchants and manufacturers, let alone the House of Commons, might not accept his eulogies of free trade without reservation. As Yorkshire's representative in Parliament he had soon to face this perplexity. The clothiers and cloth merchants of Leeds were men of influence among his constituents, and the relations between the lords of Wentworth Woodhouse and the burghers of the textile town were close and friendly. When the clothiers petitioned Parliament in 1816 to forego an additional duty on the import of foreign wool and rape seed, Fitzwilliam spoke out in their favor. But they were equally insistent on the desirability of a duty on the *export* of wool from England, and this the earl could not reconcile with his notions of free trade.¹⁵ Both the English grower of wool and the English manufacturer of cloth, he declared, should receive the same treatment, and both would inevitably profit from the working of an economy freed of restrictions.¹⁶ His constituents were quick to protest against these wrong-headed views of their noble representative, but Fitzwilliam was not to be moved. He and Adam Smith knew better than the clothiers and merchants of Leeds what was best for them and for the English nation.

On the subject of the Corn Laws, however, the faithful disciple of Adam Smith still found it possible at this time (in the early 1820's) to refrain from accepting the logical conclusions of free trade. The great economist had observed that "defence is of much more importance than opulence," that the national interest in a warring community of nations must not be ignored. And Fitzwilliam in the years immediately after the Napoleonic wars took the same view, and held that the Corn Laws and the Navigation Acts—admittedly part of the system of restrictions—could still be justified on the grounds of defense, the imperatives of foreign policy outweighing the gains of trade.¹⁷ By 1825, however, he came to the conclusion that economic policy need no longer defer to diplomacy and war, and from that time forward he was the constant critic of the Corn Laws.

¹⁴ *Hansard*, 1st Ser., XXXIV, 786–87, May 24, 1816.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Draft Letter of Lord Milton to Mr. Bischoff, Apr. 28, 1816, Milton MSS.

¹⁷ *Hansard*, 2d Ser., I, 190–91, May 8, 1820.

The year 1825 saw the first large-scale attack on the fortress of agricultural protection, and during the next three years the battle over the Corn Laws furnished a full-dress rehearsal for the final and successful agitation later led by Cobden and Bright.¹⁸ Earl Fitzwilliam in company with a handful of landlords joined forces with the commercial and manufacturing interests, and like them found the legislation of 1828 less than he had hoped for.¹⁹ But before much could be done about this unsatisfactory outcome, the movement for parliamentary reform claimed the attention of the earl and his allies. And few played a more conspicuous part on the Whig side than Fitzwilliam in the great debates on the Reform Bill.

Busy as he was in mastering the details of Schedule A or shaping party strategy in those exciting times, the pressing need of disposing of the vexed issue of the Corn Laws was never far from his thoughts. In February, 1831, and probably for some months before that, the earl turned pamphleteer and composed his *First Address to the Landowners of England on the Corn Laws*, but held it back from publication until the following year when the excitement over the Reform Bill should have subsided. In June, 1831, only the persuasion of his Whig colleagues moved him to withdraw a critical motion on the Corn Laws;²⁰ and the next year, once the Reform Bill was safe, he was on his feet at once, stubbornly pressing his fiscal proposals on Parliament. Small wonder that in February, 1833, Sir Henry Hardinge writing to Mrs. Arbuthnot declared: "As to Corn Laws we shall be spared the annoyance of hearing Lord Milton on the subject—his father's death having translated him to the Upper House, where I hope he will be less mischievous."²¹

This was a vain hope. Two months later, despite the objections of Lord Althorp, Milton—now Earl Fitzwilliam—rose in the House of Lords to bring forward his fourteen resolutions on the Corn Laws, the last of which declared it "expedient to devise the said laws and to place them upon a footing more consistent with justice, and more conducive to the welfare of the most important interests of the country."²² The earl's resolutions were coldly received. Earl Grey assured him that "the trade in corn could not be left too much undisturbed by the legislature."²³ Exasperated, Fitzwilliam lashed out wildly at his fellow peers: no more than weavers or chimney

¹⁸ Donald G. Barnes, *A History of the English Corn Laws from 1660 to 1846* (New York, 1930), pp. 185–205.

¹⁹ *Hansard*, 3d Ser., XIII, 303–307, June 1, 1831.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Arthur Aspinall, ed., *The Correspondence of Charles Arbuthnot* (London, 1941), p. 167.

²² *Hansard*, 3d Ser., XVII, 755, Apr. 30, 1833.

²³ *Ibid.*, XVII, 756, Apr. 30, 1833.

sweeps, he exclaimed, did they merit the special regard paid to them in the shape of the Corn Laws.²⁴ The House thought otherwise and summarily rejected the fourteen resolutions.

Thereafter, until 1839, the earl was patently less aggressive in the upper house, although the game was by no means up. He still pamphleteered, publishing his *Second Address to the Landowners of England* in 1835, and his *Third Address* four years later. He pressed petitions on the peers from towns hostile to the Corn Laws, thereby providing himself with an opportunity to remind landlords that the duties on corn had not yet achieved the dignity of an immutable article in the laws of the land. Indeed he prophesied confidently in 1834 that the Corn Laws would pass from the statute books within a decade.²⁵ In short, he waged what the earl of Malmesbury, his chief critic in the Lords, denounced as "a system of desultory warfare."²⁶

This ended abruptly in 1839 when the rise of the Anti-Corn Law League made the earl leave off baleful predictions and occasional proddings. In 1833, already well known as a Corn-Law critic, he had been invited to become president of the London Anti-Corn Law Society. He refused on the implied ground that this was exclusively Parliament's business: having legislated wrongly, Parliament must seek to revise its error, unprompted by the clamor of public associations.²⁷ And the later League, the creation of Manchester, was even less to the earl's taste: missionaries of economic salvation, inflaming public opinion, usurping the function and duty of members of Parliament, the appearance of the League moved the earl to prompt action. Like Charles Villiers in the Commons, he set to work in the other House to marshal all available opinion on the side of changing the Corn Laws.

The essentials of his argument at this time, and earlier, were clear enough, and impressively buttressed by a battery of statistics.²⁸ The Corn Laws before and after 1828 fell short of their intended result: they failed to keep up the price of corn to the satisfaction of the farmer, and tenants' capital—admittedly for other reasons as well—had been seriously depleted. If anyone had found real advantage in the Corn Laws, it was not the farmer but the corn merchant. And the landlord had benefited too, but not as much as he might think. For the landlord also paid more for his provisions than he might ordinarily. His tenantry were discontented, assured of a high

²⁴ *Ibid.*, XVII, 1178, May 14, 1833.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, XXIII, 405, May 2, 1834.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XXIII, 1358, May 27, 1834.

²⁷ Earl Fitzwilliam to Mr. Wilson, Dec. 18, 1833, Milton MSS.

²⁸ The earl's argument is put together from his three pamphlets and his many speeches in Parliament.

price for their product but having in fact to come to their landlords for periodical remission of rents. And above all, in creating an artificial scarcity, the unnatural price of corn struck at the chief market of the landed interest, the towns.

Although England's landlords might gain a temporary advantage from the operation of the Corn Laws, it was plain to the earl that "their solid and permanent prosperity," to quote his words, "must depend upon the ease, comfort and prosperity of the industrious classes of the community."²⁹ The enhanced price of food meant high wages, a decline in the competitive efficiency of England's industry, and thus the eventual and disastrous contraction of the home market for English agriculture. This the earl illustrated by a graphic account of the consumption of corn in the Yorkshire towns and its importance for the surrounding agricultural districts. Too few of his fellow landlords, he exclaimed, appreciated fully this vital connection. "Your habits do not lead you to trace the widening course of commerce"; "some of you dislike the smoke and bustle of commercial towns"; and therefore they were inclined to ignore "the interest that we have, as a body, in the activity of every workshop and counting-house in Birmingham and Liverpool."³⁰

And beneath this economic argument, peeping through the serried rows of statistical statement, we catch a glimpse of political and social considerations equally important to the earl. The landlords of England formed as a body the traditional governing class of the nation. The hallmark of successful leadership was the faculty of ever keeping in sight the national interest, of conciliating the demands of articulate sections of the community. If it failed in this, the landed interest imperiled the deference on which its position was founded. He and the members of his class ought therefore to launch a discussion in Parliament that would eventually carry a reform of the Corn Laws; otherwise this task would fall to men careless of moderation who would sweep all before them, to men indifferent to the claims of aristocracy.³¹ And this danger became more real than ever with the passing of the Reform Bill, more patent than ever with the appearance of the Anti-Corn Law League.

Thus the earl resumed the attack in 1839 with all his former vigor. He was not a total repealer, advocating in place of the sliding scale of 1828 a

²⁹ *First Address to the Landowners of England*, p. 29.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

³¹ In addition to his pamphlets, suggestions of this argument are to be found in the following: Lord Milton to Mr. John Bark, Dec. 3, 1832, Milton MSS; *Hansard*, 3d Ser., XIII, 306, June 1, 1831.

small fixed duty; even Ricardo, after all, had never asked for the abrupt extinction of agricultural protection. And from 1839 until the fall of the Whig government in 1841, Fitzwilliam's proposals found a more receptive audience than had ever previously been afforded them. Each year he moved for "a revision and relaxation of the Corn Laws," and by 1841 he estimated that between fifty and sixty members of the upper house were ready to vote with him.³² Even more reassuring, the Whig cabinet before its fall abandoned its former policy of treating the repeal of the Corn Laws as an open question and came out for a fixed and moderate duty. Fitzwilliam's arguments probably had less effect here than did the desire of Lord John Russell to embarrass the Conservative opposition. But Fitzwilliam was pleased nonetheless; matters had moved apace since 1833.

Indeed, thereafter, the earl was sure that a resolution of the long-standing controversy was imminent and certain, confiding to his diary after the Tory victory at the general election of 1841 that "the incoming ministers would very likely alter the Corn Laws."³³ The speech from the throne in 1842 and Peel's tariff measures of the same year pointed in this direction. The earl found the Canada Corn Bill of 1843 equally reassuring. And so he stood aside, in a spirit of detachment, watching with mingled admiration and distaste the desperate and brilliant activities of the League, neither willing to support it nor putting any faith in resistance being long able to stand up to it. When the final crisis broke in December, 1845, the earl was traveling on the Continent, but he was home in time for the final scenes of the great debate; in time to attend a heated meeting of parliamentary Whigs where the earl agreed reluctantly to abandon the fixed duty rather than forego victory;³⁴ and in time to ring down the curtain in the House of Lords when triumph was assured. He was thankful, the earl announced to his fellow peers, that the warfare which he had waged so long was now ended; "I shall be relieved from the necessity of making those Motions with which I have so often troubled your Lordships."³⁵

And so ended the earl's twenty years of campaigning against the Corn Laws, during which time his convictions neither altered nor flagged. Something has been shown of the arguments that Fitzwilliam used: his reasoned acceptance of free-trade doctrine, his intelligent estimate of the nature of England's economy and the working of the Corn Laws, his concern to

³² *Ibid.*, LVII, 1475, May 6, 1841.

³³ MSS Diaries, Aug. 28, 1841.

³⁴ Lytton Strachey and Roger Fulford, eds., *The Greville Memoirs, 1814-1860* (London, 1938), V, 323.

³⁵ *Hansard*, 3d Ser., LVI, 1109, May 25, 1846.

maintain and strengthen the aristocratic structure of society. It needs still to be asked what prompted such views so early and so steadfastly. In these enlightened times historians have learned—perhaps too well—the fashionable lesson that ideas and policies come to heel sharply at the behest of economic interest. Is it then possible to entertain the hypothesis that Earl Fitzwilliam took sides because of the size of his pocketbook or the nature of his landed resources?

There was much coal beneath the Fitzwilliam lands in the West Riding and the earl was a maker of iron: perhaps he could thereby afford to care less about agricultural protection than other landlords more dependent on agricultural resources. A glance at the evidence does not encourage one much in this line of reasoning. In the mines that the earl worked, as distinct from those that were let, there was a profit for only four years between 1830 and 1850; and although his mineral rents showed a steady recovery from 1837 onwards, it is doubtful that this adequately offset the losses in the mines that he operated.³⁶ As for his ironworks these were a dismal affair, muddled by an eccentric agent who incurred heavy losses for his master, and finally given over to lessees in 1849.³⁷ So far as one can learn from the evidence, it would seem that the earl counted little on his coal until the railway system penetrated the south Yorkshire coalfield in 1850. About this time Fitzwilliam saw clearly that the mineral returns of the West Riding estate could be relied on to keep his affairs in a flourishing condition, and about this time he wrote to Lord Clarendon explaining that landlords such as himself, owners of diversified property in the land, need fear little from the end of protection.³⁸

That this would have been a paramount consideration with Earl Fitzwilliam seems at least questionable. Certainly a considerable revenue from coal or urban development acted less than uniformly on the aristocratic mind in deciding the merits of the Corn Laws. The third duke of Northumberland, whose mines and wayleaves in the great northern coalfield were highly remunerative, was all for protection in 1844, and came over to Peel only at the last moment.³⁹ Presumably the earl of Crawford's coal in Lancashire was doing well by the forties but he stayed in the ranks of protection;⁴⁰ and so did the earl of Lonsdale, whose mining enterprise at Whitehaven was one of the most extensive in the land. And if the earl of Londonderry

³⁶ Estate Accounts, *passim*, Wentworth Woodhouse MSS.

³⁷ D. Maude to Earl Fitzwilliam, Aug. 25, 1845 and Jan. 25, 1851, *ibid.*

³⁸ Earl Fitzwilliam to Lord Clarendon, Dec. 12, 1850, *ibid.*

³⁹ Duke of Northumberland to C. A. B. Cresswell, Feb. 13, 1844, Alnwick Castle MSS.

⁴⁰ Haigh MSS. in the possession of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, *passim*.

with his immense investment in the collieries of County Durham and in the port of Seaham which he had built to serve these collieries remained steadfast in his friendship for Sir Robert Peel, his son, Castlereagh, refused to abandon the protectionist party.

Similarly, aristocratic landlords owning large areas of English towns and cities, and receiving sometimes immense additions to their purely agricultural income, show no greater uniformity than do mineral landlords with respect to the Corn Laws. For example, take some of the great London landlords. The marquis of Westminster was said in the 1840's to receive from his London property about £100,000 a year, likely to rise to £600,000 with the falling in of leases;⁴¹ the marquis publicly announced his support of the Anti-Corn Law League in 1844. The duke of Bedford, on the other hand, whose London income must also have been very large, confessed that he had no convictions at all on the Corn Laws until the very last, when he came over to reform presumably to save the nation from social strife.⁴² And the duke of Portland, who by 1835 was receiving £50,000 a year from his Marylebone property—about one half of his total yearly income—was no less opposed to the repeal of the Corn Laws than his younger son, Lord George Bentinck, although his heir was a friend of Peel.⁴³ Nor was Lord Stanley any less adamant than the duke of Portland, despite his being heir to a massive urban property in Liverpool and other Lancashire towns; and neither was the duke of Cleveland, owner of urban property in Bath and Wolverhampton.

It is plain, I think, that the presence of nonagricultural resources on the great landed estates signified less than one might expect for the dispute over the Corn Laws; and a long, clear rent roll, it also appears, signified little more. Perhaps no longer and no clearer rent rolls were to be found in England than those of the duke of Portland, the duke of Northumberland, or the duke of Cleveland; far clearer indeed than that of Earl Fitzwilliam, whose debts were approaching £800,000 in the forties, or that of the duke of Devonshire, whose indebtedness remained in the neighborhood of a million pounds in spite of the sale of his Yorkshire estate. Lord Monson, a modest Lincolnshire peer who kept his head above water only by spending five years on the Continent for economy's sake, was—like Fitzwilliam and the duke—no friend of the Corn Laws.⁴⁴ Nor was Earl Spencer (Lord

⁴¹ Lord George Bentinck to the Duke of Portland, Feb. 28, 1846, Portland MSS, in the possession of the University of Nottingham.

⁴² Duke of Bedford to Sir R. Peel, Dec. 5, 1849, Add. MSS. 40602, ff. 309-10.

⁴³ Portland MSS, *passim*, referred to in Arthur S. Turberville, *Welbeck Abbey and Its Owners* (London, 1938), II, 340.

⁴⁴ Monson HSS, in the possession of the Lincolnshire Archives Committee, Lincoln, *passim*.

Althorp of the Reform Bill), who in 1834 came to an estate groaning under a massive debt, yet five years later outdid his former Whig colleagues by deciding that nothing short of total repeal was necessary.⁴⁵

If economic calculations of the sort described had to all appearances little to do with aristocratic politics and the Corn Laws, it may still be said that this was so because of what in fact was happening in the economy of the English landed estate during the first half of the nineteenth century. However diverse the resources of landed gentlemen, there were some things of an economic nature common to most of them. Most had learned in the three or four decades before 1846—or their agents had learned, or were in the process of learning—simple but valuable lessons in estate management, chiefly in the realm of retrenchment: to spend less and to save more, to avoid aristocratic extravagance and to acquire the business habits of classes beneath them, to rely less on those tidbits of political patronage that had largely dried up. There was much of a salutary nature that they could do: by refraining from mountainous election expenses, from heavy bills incurred in building against their neighbors, from those tempting purchases of additional acres for reasons of prestige; by putting outlying estates onto a lucrative market (for family settlements were not so all-encompassing as is sometimes thought); by taking advantage of the great accumulations of capital lodged with insurance companies and borrowing cheaply or consolidating previous debts at lower rates of interest; by reading their accounts and hiring businesslike estate agents; and by recruiting a new race of skillful and more adventurous farming tenantry.

Given these things, a reduction in agricultural rents may not have been too alarming even for landlords exclusively dependent on agriculture, and in all probability was most alarming to those landlords—and they were a minority—like the dukes of Buckingham and Newcastle, who had kept going on the principle that a beneficent deity owed them a handsome living, that the business of their estates was alien to the niceties of aristocratic life, and who were puffed up with a high aristocratic pride that lusted after all manner of distinction and prestige however costly and ruinous. Fitzwilliam was a very different man from these noblemen. He could refuse the offer of a Garter, because he thought himself too poor at the time to afford the necessary thousand pounds;⁴⁶ the duke of Buckingham would have doubtless chosen death rather than forego this honor. Fitzwilliam could work closely with his agents and look into the manifold detail of his

⁴⁵ Althorp MSS, in the possession of Earl Spencer, Althorp Park, Northampton, *passim*.

⁴⁶ MSS Diaries, July 9, 1851.

estates with a careful eye; the duke of Newcastle was a mere child in business affairs, innocent beyond belief.⁴⁷ It was the Newcastles and Buckinghams who justified John Stuart Mill's contemptuous references to great landlords that may be found in his *Principles of Political Economy*, not the Fitzwilliams. And being different men who had known how to put their affairs on a sounder footing or at least allowed their agents to do so, they had left their minds open to considerations other than those that plagued a duke of Newcastle. For the Fitzwilliams the business of their estates was one thing, the nation's politics another.

It follows therefore that to understand Fitzwilliam as a Corn-Law reformer, and the working of the aristocratic mind generally in the controversy over the Corn Laws, it is perhaps more profitable to look at things other than their rents. Fitzwilliam had all his life been an evangelical in whom piety had marched hand in hand with responsibility and industry and a great reverence for learning. He once upbraided his eldest son, home on vacation from Cambridge, not for being idle but for failing to read with a purpose and a plan: a book, he warned his son, was no mere plaything.⁴⁸ Plainly a mind of this sort was well suited to grapple with the close and labored argument of political economy. And if Whiggism can be said to have a mind—Bagehot said it was a character rather than a creed⁴⁹—the Whig in Fitzwilliam was equally well prepared to welcome the assumptions of political economy. For there can be found in Whiggism—and this also Bagehot said⁵⁰—a taste for material improvement, an aversion to that Tory skepticism which was prone to leave things as they were lest they get worse. The adventurous and inquiring spirit in Fitzwilliam, so clearly seen in his amateur dabbings in science, thus took fire at the promise of improvement in the writings of the economists. Like them he was anxious to free the productive and beneficent forces in the national economy. No one in England was prouder and more enthusiastic than Earl Fitzwilliam at the sight of the Crystal Palace Exhibition;⁵¹ he could not feast his eyes on it enough; and like Macaulay he entered that place with the same feelings of awe and reverence with which some might enter the Vatican at Rome. He saw to it that his agents and workmen could come from his estates to taste these pleasures, and he arranged for the display of a column of the Barnsley coal.

⁴⁷ For a typical example of the duke's mode of conducting business, see John Martineau, *The Life of Henry Pelham, Fifth Duke of Newcastle* (London, 1908), pp. 68–69.

⁴⁸ Lord Milton to his son, Sept. 26, 1830, Milton MSS.

⁴⁹ Mrs. Russell Barrington, ed., *The Works and Life of Walter Bagehot* (London, 1915), II, 62.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 67.

⁵¹ MSS Diaries, June, 1851.

There can also be found in Whiggism—and here Bagehot must again be our guide⁵²—a quality not unrelated to its taste for improvement. Along with a knowledge that the world can be improved there is likely to go a practical way of looking at things. It is not hard to see this in Fitzwilliam, the man of business, in Fitzwilliam, the Corn-Law pamphleteer who set out his facts and his figures as if to say: these things are self-evident, no reasonable man can come to any other conclusions than mine. And above all, this quality of mind or character is plain in Fitzwilliam, the Whig politician, preaching the gospel of practical expediency to the English aristocracy, be it in the debates on the Reform Bill or during the agitation over the Corn Laws.

This last, the Whig politician, tells us much, perhaps the most of all, about the making of a Corn-Law reformer out of a landed aristocrat. And the political Whig in Earl Fitzwilliam is best to be seen and understood in the light of his long training in the county politics of Yorkshire, where before 1830 a county member of Parliament was an uncrowned king of the House of Commons, and where landed families strove in quasi-feudal array, amidst turbulence and expense, to maintain their political influence at Westminster. Earl Fitzwilliam made his debut as county member in the famous election of 1807 which cost his father close onto £100,000.⁵³ He vacated this seat in 1830, purportedly in anticipation of his father's death but more likely because the traditional game was becoming too expensive even for his pocket, having paid £26,000 in the election of 1826,⁵⁴ a sum that his friend Lord Althorp thought more than a seat in the House of Commons was worth.⁵⁵ And if after 1833 his electoral career was at an end anyhow, Earl Fitzwilliam still took an active and leading part behind the scenes in the Whig politics of the county.

For the earl's successful deployment of the Whig forces in Yorkshire was conditioned by certain inescapable tactics. First, obviously, he must be prepared to come forward like other landed gentlemen and claim what he regarded as his rightful place as the spokesman for the land and people of Yorkshire, and thus to soil his hands and weary his soul in the grubby business of electioneering. This the earl did for a quarter of a century, and his family might well have done more after 1830 in spite of the expense, had not his cherished eldest son died tragically from one of these pestilential fevers that sometimes swept through country houses as well as city slums.

⁵² Barrington, *Bagehot*, II, 67.

⁵³ Election Accounts for 1807, Wentworth Woodhouse MSS.

⁵⁵ Lord Althorp to Lord Milton, June 4, 1826, Milton MSS.

⁵⁴ Elections Accounts for 1826, *ibid.*

(The drains of Wentworth Woodhouse were apparently not much better than those of Sheffield.) And secondly, as part and parcel of Whig electioneering in Yorkshire, the earl had perforce to keep firm his lines of communication with the increasingly voluble men of the towns. In this the earl showed an indefatigable industry and a triumphant mastery.

His correspondence reveals an untiring effort to keep his fingers on the pulse of middle-class opinion in the Yorkshire towns. Everywhere he had his men—often solicitors—those obscure but invaluable middlemen between the landed aristocracy and the towns—the Newmans in Barnsley, his own agents; William Allen in Malton, another agent; Francis Maude in Wakefield, a barrister and his chief man of business; Thomas Tottie and John Nussey in Leeds, and so on. These were the wire-pullers of Wentworth Woodhouse, the subordinates who marshaled the active opinion of the towns, teaching it to look for leadership to the great country house outside of Rotherham, and at the same time keeping the earl informed of the special interests of the merchants and manufacturers and how best to satisfy them. It was they, in all probability, who persuaded Fitzwilliam to take a step in Whig county politics, unprecedented before 1826, a step grudgingly accepted by the Whig gentry: namely, to share the Whig representation of the county between a landed gentleman and a townsman selected by the towns.⁵⁶

This electoral alliance, central to Yorkshire Whiggism, proved eminently successful during the earl's stay in the House of Commons, highly satisfactory both to himself and to the men of the towns. The latter had little cause for complaint, and in fact they complained very little. There was some dismay, early in the day, when Fitzwilliam objected to the export duty on wool; but the Leeds clothiers respected the earl's right and duty, as he put it, "to consider the *general interests* of the *whole community* as paramount to every partial interest,"⁵⁷ and to determine for himself, without being bound in advance, what those general interests were. In 1831 Thomas Tottie, speaking for the Leeds clothiers, pleaded with the earl to stand again; they were ready to support him if he did; if not, to support whomever he chose as his successor among the landed gentry.⁵⁸ They were not of a mind to disagree with what the earl held to be a maxim of county politics: that there were many landed proprietors in Yorkshire who in view of the situation of their estates "took a deep interest in the welfare of your manufacture

⁵⁶ Sir Charles Wood to Earl Fitzwilliam, Mar. 21, 1857, Milton MSS.

⁵⁷ Lord Milton to the Trustees of the Leeds Cloth Hall, July 15, 1830, Wentworth Woodhouse MSS.

⁵⁸ Thomas Tottie to Lord Milton, Aug. 16, 1831, *ibid.*

and the extension of your commerce, and who, by this circumstance, are led to form a due estimate of its value and importance.”⁵⁹

Unfortunately there came a time, during the last decade of the earl's life, when this partnership began to founder. In 1846 Fitzwilliam's eldest son refused with his father's approval to stand for the West Riding rather than be bound by the towns to accept a total repeal of the Corn Laws.⁶⁰ Then, in the following year, Richard Cobden was elected for the West Riding, an event that stirred a deep indignation in the earl. However much he admired Cobden, his standing for a county seat in Yorkshire was a dereliction of Whig aristocratic principle; for Cobden was a foreigner, his election a presumptuous Lancashire invasion, a blow struck at the long-standing rule that Yorkshire land be represented by Yorkshire men, thereby leaving the door open, as the earl saw it, to the upsurge of democracy.⁶¹ And in 1848, when a younger son of Fitzwilliam came forward and the townsmen waited on him to impose their opinions and policies upon him, the earl was once again confronted with the unpleasant fact that the Whig aristocracy would no longer have it their own way in county politics. The fault lay, according to the earl, in what had happened in the towns, in a new leadership recruited not from “the high aristocracy” of the towns: the Becketts, the Benyons, the Marshals, “families which have allied with some of the noblest in England”; but from an “inferior aristocracy”: a Mr. Baines, a Mr. Carbutt, the one a journalist, the other an obscure merchant, respectable enough no doubt, but hardly persons who have “a claim to point me and the West Riding to the course which it ought to pursue at an election.”⁶²

This was the beginning of the end of the old Whig party in Yorkshire. The grand strategy of Whiggism—to preserve their party in power and to consolidate the traditional framework of society by conciliating “the high aristocracy” of the towns—had proved a boomerang, as the Tories had prophesied in 1831 and 1832. Not only were the Yorkshire townsmen throwing off their deference, but the Whig gentry, as Sir Charles Wood complained to the earl, were no longer coming forward.⁶³ Hoist by his own petard, Fitzwilliam retained his composure, giving way surprisingly little to pessimistic reflection, to remorse for past actions. He remained the instinctive politician, the good Whig, never looking too far ahead, calmly adjusting his politics and his view of national policy to what was necessary

⁵⁹ Lord Milton to the Trustees at the Leeds Cloth Hall, July 15, 1830, *ibid.*

⁶⁰ Sir Charles Wood to Earl Fitzwilliam, Jan. 14, 1846, Milton MSS.

⁶¹ Memorandum by Earl Fitzwilliam, Nov. 24, 1848, Milton MSS; Earl Fitzwilliam to F. H. Fawkes, Nov. 30, 1848, Wentworth Woodhouse MSS.

⁶² Memorandum by Earl Fitzwilliam, 1848, Wentworth Woodhouse MSS.

⁶³ Sir Charles Wood to Earl Fitzwilliam, Mar. 21, 1857, Milton MSS.

and to what was possible. Yorkshire Whigs must henceforth fuse with Yorkshire Tories: better a Denison as representative of the West Riding than a Cobden or, more horrible to contemplate, a Roebuck.⁶⁴ If political Whiggism had to retreat, it might still find here a means of defending what the earl had always sought to defend, whether in the Reform Bill or in his criticism of the Corn Laws. Disraeli called it the territorial constitution. A friend of Fitzwilliam, Evelyn Denison, spoke of it in 1846 as "that great and, what I hope long may be Master Interest," the aristocratic society of the land.⁶⁵

Of those things that went to make Fitzwilliam a critic of the Corn Laws it would be profitless to say what was the weightiest. Certainly in all things he showed the purest essence of Whiggism: in his receptivity of mind and character; in his acquiescence in the imperatives of Whig electioneering and political strategy; in his capacity for taking the national view; in his lively concern for the strength and influence of the old governing class. These touched not only Fitzwilliam but were felt in varying degree, prompting different reactions, throughout the ranks of England's aristocracy. In themselves they were enough to divide the great hereditary landlords over the issue of the Corn Laws, making impossible that united front to free trade and middle-class opinion that has sometimes been attributed to them. And being a highly successful governing class—possibly unmatched in modern history—it was perhaps natural that they should behave in this fashion.

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⁶⁴ Earl Fitzwilliam to F. H. Fawkes, Nov. 30, 1848, Wentworth Woodhouse MSS.

⁶⁵ J. E. Denison to Earl Fitzwilliam, July 8, 1846, Milton MSS.

Variations in Nationalism during the Great Reform Period in Prussia

WALTER M. SIMON

THE great reform period of 1807-1819 in Prussia, associated with the names of Stein and Hardenberg, was a direct result of the military collapse of the Prussian armies before Napoleon at Jena and Auerstädt. After this catastrophe, nobody but the most incorrigible adherents of the old order could deny any longer that a thoroughgoing program of military reform was overdue. But because military and civilian affairs in Prussia were so closely related, socially, economically, and politically, and because the shock occasioned by Prussia's ignominious defeat temporarily weakened the forces that had been resisting fundamental changes in the social structure, the faint stirrings of progress characterizing the first years of the reign of Frederick William III could be suddenly transformed, at the hands of Baron Stein, into a bold and homogeneous program of reform. The ultimate object of this program, in Stein's own words, was to mobilize the physical and spiritual resources of Prussia through "the reawakening of a spirit of community and civic pride, the employment of dormant or misapplied energies and of unused knowledge, harmony between the views and desires of the nation and those of the administrative authorities of the state, the revival of patriotism and of the desire for national honor and independence."¹

This program had to be carried out in the face of manifold difficulties. Perhaps the greatest of these was the formidable opposition offered by the conservative forces in Prussian society, which soon recovered from the blow of Napoleon's victory and once again began to use their influence and their social position (for many of them were of the nobility) in the cause of saving Prussia from "Jacobinism." But this was by no means the only obstacle confronting Stein and his successors. Among the most prominent of the others may be counted the French occupation, and later the threat of reoccupation; the desperate financial situation of a defeated and plundered

¹ From Stein's "Nassauer Denkschrift" of June, 1807, which is the best single source for Stein's reform program and political ideas, cited in its entirety in Georg H. Pertz, *Das Leben des Ministers Freiherrn vom Stein* (Berlin, 1850-55), I, 415-38. The passage here quoted occurs on p. 432.

land obliged to pay a high indemnity to its conqueror; and the gradual debilitation of the administrative machine built up by Frederick the Great.

To reduce the internal history of Prussia between 1807 and 1819 to a struggle between liberal reformers and conservative opponents of reform, therefore, is to follow an oversimplified formula which overlooks many significant complicating factors. Neither the reformers nor their opponents presented a united front in practice or in theory. Therefore, to attempt to fit the question of nationalism into this pattern is unsound. According to the formula, wherever in early nineteenth-century Europe you find a liberal, there you have a nationalist; wherever conservatism prevails, nationalism is at best a minor consideration. Liberalism and nationalism, in other words, were natural allies in this period. Applied to Prussia in the first two decades of the century, this principle would yield the result that the reformers were all nationalists and that the conservative opponents of reform were on the whole not moved by nationalist aspirations.² But scholarship in recent years has brought to light new information from which new relationships emerge. This is not to deny that there is an important nucleus of truth in the correspondence of nationalism and liberalism in Napoleonic and pre-March Germany; on the contrary, the two movements may be regarded as twin progeny of the Enlightenment and of the French Revolution, inherently more likely to converge than to diverge. Furthermore, the idea of a connection between them was firmly established in the minds of many prominent men of the age, and it was doubtless a contemporary belief that furnished the basis for the historical interpretation.³ Nevertheless, it is an interpretation that distorts the facts and oversimplifies complex problems.

The mental association of liberalism with nationalism without reservations is perfectly legitimate for large parts of Europe in the early nineteenth century. Germany, however, presents special difficulties in this respect, since there was no such thing as a united Germany at the beginning of the century, and the federation that emerged from the Congress of Vienna left much to be desired. In addition, many of the German territorial states, including

² A representative statement of this formula is that of Friedrich Meinecke in his early work, *Das Leben des Generalfeldmarschalls Hermann von Boyen* (Stuttgart, 1896-99), II, 310-15. It is fair to add that Meinecke arrived at a far juster appraisal of the situation in the later *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat: Studien zur Genesis des deutschen Nationalstaates* (6th ed., Munich and Berlin, 1922), pp. 337-38.

³ As examples of the contemporary feeling, see the remarks of Stein's friend and disciple Sack, on the one hand, and of the Francophile ex-minister Voss on the other, cited Herman Granier, ed., *Berichte aus der Berliner Franzosenzeit 1807-1809* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 329-30, and Erich Botzenhart, ed., *Freiherr vom Stein: Briefwechsel, Denkschriften und Aufzeichnungen* (Berlin, n.d.), II, 601-604, respectively.

Prussia, were themselves artificial and sometimes quite recently constituted agglomerations of land which could claim little or no traditional allegiance; especially after the consolidations carried out by Napoleon, many petty but venerable loyalties were attached to small territories that were no longer sovereign states but merely parts of larger states. In Germany, therefore, there could be no nationalism, only nationalisms; and the great dissimilarity in this respect between liberals and conservatives in Prussia was not that the former were nationalistic and the latter were not, but rather that the two groups directed their patriotic loyalty at different entities. The outstanding fact is that all the great reformers, in the years from 1807 to 1815, looked beyond the frontiers of the Prussian state. Stein's own disavowal of allegiance to Prussia is deservedly famous:

I have but one fatherland, and that is Germany . . . ; to it, and not to any part of it, I am wholeheartedly devoted. I am completely indifferent, in this historic moment, to the fate of the dynasties, my desire is that Germany shall grow large and strong, so that it may recover its independence and nationality and maintain them against both France and Russia. . . . So far as I am concerned you may do with Prussia what you like, you may dismember it altogether. . . .⁴

These words of the proud knight of the Holy Roman Empire, who had entered the service of Frederick the Great in the conviction that his was the state destined to assume the leadership of Germany, are only the most ringing of the pronouncements on this subject from members of the reform group in Prussia. With greater or lesser emphasis, all the liberals—and they were heterogeneous enough—spoke of a united Germany as the ultimate goal of statesmanship.⁵ They might not all talk so sanguinely as Stein about dismembering Prussia; those of them who were native Prussians often wished, on the contrary, to strengthen Prussia so that she might serve as the nucleus, political and military, of the future Germany. This difference in conceptions concerning the destiny of Prussia came later to have great significance in the development of the *grossdeutsch-kleindeutsch* controversy; but during the first two decades of the century this controversy had not yet emerged, and their differences did not disturb the common purpose of the liberals to overcome German particularism.

The reformer who was perhaps least steadfast in this purpose was the

⁴ Stein to Münster, Dec. 1, 1812, cited Botzenhart, IV, 166–67. Cf. also, for traces of the old imperial dream of a united Germany in Stein, Arnold Berney, "Reichstradition und Nationalstaatsgedanke (1789–1815)," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXL (1929), 74–83.

⁵ For a compressed survey of the major and minor figures involved, see Alexander Scharff, *Der Gedanke der preussischen Vorherrschaft in den Anfängen der deutschen Einheitsbewegung* (Bonn, 1929), pp. 8–16, 58–59. For an excellent analysis of some of the ideological relationships between liberalism and nationalism in Germany, see Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Deutsche Einheit: Idee und Wirklichkeit vom Heiligen Reich bis Königgrätz* (Munich, 1935–42), I, 241–44.

man who fell heir to Stein's plans, Baron (later Prince) Hardenberg. Like Stein, Hardenberg was not a native Prussian and entered Prussian service as a matter of deliberate choice. Beginning as a provincial administrator in the newly acquired territory of Ansbach-Bayreuth, Hardenberg rapidly became the king's most trusted minister. After a period of idleness imposed by Napoleon's well-earned hostility, Hardenberg was recalled to office in 1810 and as chancellor controlled the later stages of the reform movement. In the course of his long career, beset by foreign as well as domestic troubles, Hardenberg adopted varying attitudes toward the problem of German unity, but at no time did he take his stand narrowly on the ground of Prussian particularism. In his early years, while a minister successively in Hanover and Brunswick in the 1780's, he was an adherent of the policy of the *Fürstenbund*, Frederick the Great's policy of resisting Habsburg encroachments in Germany. After he entered Prussian service in 1790, he became more than ever convinced of Prussia's mission to protect Germany, not only from Austria but from threats from any quarter.⁶ He declared that his purpose during the negotiations for the Peace of Basel in 1795 was to "rally Germany around the king of Prussia."⁷ His failure to secure any advantages for Prussia in the treaty taught him that Prussia was not strong enough to play the altruistic role of defender of the *Reich*. He became contemptuous of the petty German princes and sought to strengthen Prussia in order to enable her to become independent of their support and to subordinate Germany to her.⁸ When this policy of territorial expansion in its turn proved abortive because of the irresistible power of Napoleon, Hardenberg reverted to his earlier ideas about Germany. In a memorandum written in April, 1807, he developed a political program for Germany based on power.⁹ Seeing Germany, in alliance with Great Britain and Russia, as the outpost of European freedom against the threat of French domination, Hardenberg was persuaded of the necessity of reaching some solution to the problem of Austro-Prussian dualism within Germany. He thought that the suspicion and hostility between the two might be overcome by dividing Germany into a Prussian sphere of preponderance in the north and an Austrian sphere in the south. The high point of Hardenberg's devotion to German unity came with Napoleon's

⁶ On this aspect of Hardenberg's early career, see the careful work of Fritz Zierke, *Die deutsche Politik Hardenbergs in der ersten Periode seines staatsmännischen Wirkens 1770-1807* (Frankfurt a. M., 1932), pp. 19-32, 42-43, based on hitherto unused sources.

⁷ Hardenberg's report of Mar. 24, 1795, cited *ibid.*, p. 64.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-77.

⁹ This memorandum, discovered by Zierke and called by him the "Kydullener Programm," is discussed *ibid.*, pp. 90-93. Cf. also for this phase Karl Griewank, "Hardenberg und die preussische Politik, 1804-1806," *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preussischen Geschichte*, XLVII (1935), 230-31.

defeat in 1815, when the chancellor encouraged the formation of a secret society dedicated to the creation of a constitutional and united Germany.¹⁰ Thereafter, Hardenberg delivered himself into Metternich's hands and became increasingly the tool of the latter's policies.

Hardenberg was a liberal, but the connection between his liberalism and his German nationalism remained for the most part implicit. It was far more clearly expressed in the pronouncements of Gneisenau, one of the great figures in the military reform movement. He was one of the many who believed that Prussia could gain the leadership of Germany by making the greatest advances in her internal affairs, and that meant to liberals progress in the direction of becoming a constitutional monarchy. Furthermore, this was in Gneisenau's opinion the only way to achieve German unity:

I regard it as impossible to draft a good German constitution which stands a chance of permanent adoption. Bavaria and Württemberg would not consent. I think, therefore, that we shall have to confine ourselves to providing for Prussia, which is our most immediate concern. Public opinion in Germany, even in the Catholic south, is favorable to Prussia, with few exceptions. It would be possible to utilize this circumstance, and the glory that Prussia has recently earned, to our advantage, in the following manner. . . . Most of the governments in Germany are despotic and hated by the people. If they are not compelled to introduce a suitable constitution they will never do so. But with us a beginning has been made. If a good constitution is drafted soon for the revived and expanded Prussian monarchy, and granted to the people by the king, that will be the strongest bond binding the new acquisitions to the old provinces; the other German states will compare our condition with theirs, and thus the desire will be awakened to be united with us and the way will be clear for new acquisitions, made not by force of arms but by liberality of principles.¹¹

The same notion of "moral conquest" of Germany was expressed more tersely, and with far more radical domestic implications, by Gneisenau jointly with his fellow soldiers Boyen and Grolman: "We must win all of Germany and sweep it along with us. If the princes do not want to follow, the peoples will."¹² It was Boyen, however, who of all the reformers preserved perhaps the most Prussian outlook, and when he said, for instance, that Prussia "was destined to be the protector of north Germany,"¹³ the

¹⁰ On Hardenberg's connections with the so-called Hoffmannsche Bund, see Justus von Gruner, "Justus Gruner und der Hoffmannsche Bund," *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preussischen Geschichte*, XIX (1906), 491-97, Scharff, p. 67; cf. for the aims of the society especially Friedrich Meinecke, "Zur Geschichte des Hoffmannschen Bundes," *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte der Burschenschaft und der deutschen Einheitsbewegung*, I (Heidelberg, 1910), 8.

¹¹ Gneisenau to Hardenberg, May 15, 1814, cited Georg H. Pertz and Hans Delbrück, *Das Leben des Feldmarschalls Grafen Neithardt von Gneisenau* (Berlin, 1864-80), IV, 255-56.

¹² Memorandum of December, 1814, cited Meinecke, *Boyen*, II, 19. The phrase about "moral conquest" in Siegfried A. Kachler, *Wilhelm von Humboldt und der Staat: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte deutscher Lebensgestaltung um 1800* (Munich and Berlin, 1927), p. 277.

¹³ Memorandum of Mar. 13, 1815, cited Meinecke, *Boyen*, II, 41.

emphasis was more on Prussia and less on Germany than would have been the case with any of the others.¹⁴

By contrast, the reformer who most clearly defined his conceptions of both liberalism and German nationalism was Wilhelm von Humboldt. An intellectual first and a statesman second, Humboldt never rested content until by introspection he had explored all the depths and implications of his own ideas. However this preoccupation may have affected his statesmanship,¹⁵ it provides significant information for the historian of the reform movement. His statements on the subject of nationalism varied from slogans to subtle, almost mystical justifications. "There has never been a country to which one would rather belong than Germany."¹⁶ "Germany must be free and strong, not only in order to be able to defend itself . . . against any foe, but also because only an externally strong nation can harbor the spirit from which all domestic blessings flow. . . ."¹⁷ He had no doubt that "intellectually and morally speaking there is a Germany that is neither Prussia nor Austria, although it contains parts of both, and that we must come to the aid of this Germany. . . ."¹⁸ "The feeling that Germany constitutes a *unit* can never be extinguished in the breast of a German. . . . In the hearts of its inhabitants, and before the eyes of foreigners, Germany will always be . . . One Nation, One People, One State."¹⁹ And even more metaphysically:

There is perhaps no country that deserves to be so free and independent as Germany, because none is so disposed to devote its freedom so single-mindedly to the welfare of all. The German genius is among all nations the one which is least destructive, which always nourishes itself, and when freedom is secured Germany will certainly attain an outstanding place in every form of culture and thought. For this reason it is so rewarding to work for this particular country. . . . Other nations do not love their country in the same way as . . . we love Germany. Our devotion is maintained . . . by some invisible force, and is far less the product of need or habit. It is not so much affection for a particular land as a longing for German feeling and the German spirit. . . .²⁰

For the sake of this ideal Humboldt was willing to sacrifice the cultural values inherent in political multiplicity.²¹ Prussia, however, occupied a special

¹⁴ See for example Boyen's letters to Hardenberg and to Gneisenau of April, 1814, cited *ibid.*, I, 380, where he seems concerned only with Prussia.

¹⁵ Kaehler, for instance, has a low opinion of Humboldt's performance as a politician and attributes his shortcomings to excessive idealism derived from an insistence on following through all his ideas to their logical conclusion.

¹⁶ Humboldt to his wife, June 5, 1810, cited Anna v. Sydow, ed., *Wilhelm und Caroline von Humboldt in ihren Briefen* (Berlin, 1906-16), III, 407.

¹⁷ Memorandum of December, 1813, cited *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Albert Leitzmann, *et al.* (Berlin, 1903-36), XI, 96.

¹⁸ Humboldt to his wife, Oct. 2, 1813, cited Sydow, IV, 129.

¹⁹ *Gesammelte Schriften*, XI, 97-98.

²⁰ Humboldt to his wife, Nov. 8, 1813, cited Sydow, IV, 165-66.

²¹ As above, Oct. 10, 1813, cited *ibid.*, IV, 130.

position in Humboldt's estimate of the German territorial states. Like Gneisenau he believed in a Prussian "moral conquest" of Germany: "Prussia must have the decisive influence in Germany, though . . . not as a power enforcing its will, but rather attracting Germany by its own free choice."²² In similar vein is his interesting reaction to the battle of Leipzig: "It is really an edifying feeling that . . . the Prussians are chiefly responsible for all these gains and victories. . . . Even if Prussia were not in the end to derive great physical benefits, the moral advantages in glory and honor alone would be worth it."²³ And yet even in the dark days of 1807 Humboldt could write: "Even if one thinks not so much . . . of the degradation of Prussia, which in the perspective of history is perhaps not irreplaceable, but rather of the fate of Germany, then a German who is a Prussian to boot can only regard this age as an infinitely tragic one."²⁴

Another intellectual turned statesman who entertained similar views, although unlike Humboldt he was not a native Prussian, was the historian Niebuhr. Typical of his statements on the subject is this: "Prussia is not a closed state; it is the common fatherland of every German who distinguishes himself in the sciences, in arms, in administration." A common nationality, Niebuhr believed, transcended the political realities which separated the peoples of that stock.²⁵

But the intellectual turned statesman is a rare bird, particularly in Germany. Let us turn our attention, then, to the intellectuals who never occupied the political stage. Here also we find that the representatives of liberal thought had a German rather than a Prussian outlook. Perhaps more than any other philosopher it was Fichte who was intellectually in sympathy with the principles of Stein and his reform movement, though strangely he never identified himself with that movement. On the subject of Germany, however, Fichte was unequivocal:

The separation of the Prussian from the other Germans is artificial. . . . Only by being a German will the Prussian become a Prussian, just as a real Prussian must be a true German. . . . The German who lives and acts in the political unit called Prussia will seek for the present only to bring the German national character to the fore . . . in this political unit, so that it may spread from there to the related

²² As above, Feb. 5, 1815, cited *ibid.*, IV, 466.

²³ As above, Oct. 19, 1813, cited *ibid.*, IV, 145-46.

²⁴ Humboldt to Schweighäuser, Aug. 29, 1807, cited Ernst Schaumkell, "Wilhelm von Humboldt und der preussische Staatsgedanke," *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preussischen Geschichte*, XLVII (1935), 317. The author of this article comments aptly on Humboldt: "It would be impossible to think more highly of Prussia; and yet his thinking was not Prussian" (p. 326).

²⁵ From Niebuhr's pamphlet "Preussens Recht gegen den sächsischen Hof," cited Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*, pp. 215, 216.

German peoples, and then . . . gradually to the whole of humanity. . . . I confess I do not know what a Prussian, a pure Prussian, is or means in relation to the rest of humanity. . . .²⁶

A different type of thinker, though like Fichte closely related to the ideas of the reform movement and somewhat more active in it, was the famous preacher Schleiermacher. Amid the catastrophe of 1806-1807 his thoughts, like Humboldt's, looked beyond the fate of Prussia to that of Germany:

In order to have a new Germany the old one will have to be destroyed still more thoroughly. Besides being a German I have for many reasons a weakness for Prussia. . . . But, to be sure, my devotion is directed at an idea of Prussia which perhaps few people recognize in its outward appearance. It is problematic whether this idea will be able to realize itself more clearly after the present crisis. . . .²⁷

In so far as he considers Prussia at all, Schleiermacher is concerned only with an idealized conception, not with the political reality. The German fondness for abstraction is here combined with the emphasis on the larger German unity, the constant companion of liberalism in this period.²⁸

The conservatives in Prussia represented a different point of view. Some of them, indeed, conformed to the liberalism-nationalism interpretation in favoring submission to, and even collaboration with, the French conquerors, displaying no interest in the recovery of independence. These, such as the notorious Count Hatzfeld, furnished the basis for the accusations of treason leveled at conservatives in general by some among Stein's following. Yet most conservatives were as patriotic as the reformers, only their patriotism did not extend beyond the borders of the existing Prussian state.²⁹ This

²⁶ Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Nachgelassene Werke*, ed. J. H. Fichte (Bonn, 1835), III, 232-33. Cf. on Fichte's nationalism in general Helmuth C. Engelbrecht, *Johann Gottlieb Fichte: A Study of His Political Writings with Special Reference to His Nationalism* (New York and London, 1933), especially pp. 153, 155, 159.

²⁷ Schleiermacher to Raumer, January, 1807, cited Wilhelm Dilthey, "Schleiermachers politische Gesinnung und Wirksamkeit," *Gesammelte Schriften* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1914-36), XII, 19-20. Cf., for a more detailed analysis of Schleiermacher's somewhat fluctuating views on the relationship between Prussia and Germany, Ernst Müsebeck, *Schleiermacher in der Geschichte der Staatsidee und des Nationalbewusstseins* (Berlin, 1927), pp. 53-68.

²⁸ One reformer who has been alleged to constitute an exception to this correlation is the author of Stein's "Political Testament," Theodor von Schön. Gerhard Ritter, in his generally masterful *Stein: eine politische Biographie* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1931), II, 199, begins a passage dealing chiefly with another subject as follows: "Schön felt himself much more strongly to be a Prussian than a German . . ." but his documentation supports everything in the passage except these opening words (*Aus den Papieren des Ministers und Burggrafen von Marienburg Theodor von Schön* [Halle, 1875-83], I, 149-51, IV, 4-92). Other evidence tends to controvert Ritter's interpretation. Stein selected Schön to be his chief assistant on the Administrative Council for Germany in 1813, and Schön later resigned from this body on the ground that half of it consisted of non-German (i.e. Russian) delegates (*Aus den Papieren des Ministers von Schön*, I, 156-57, cf. IV, 358).

²⁹ A partial exception to this generalization may be made for that consistent thorn in the side of historians in search of classifications, the Junker Ludwig von der Marwitz. See his letter to Hardenberg, Sept. 14, 1814, cited Friedrich Meusel, ed., *Friedrich August Ludwig von der Marwitz* (Berlin, 1908-13), I, xli: "As liberators of the German fatherland we are generally

striking difference was based on sound logic on the part of both the reformers and their opponents. Conservatism logically implied defense of existing frontiers and existing political units as a necessary corollary to defense of existing institutions; for if once new political units were fashioned, then new political institutions were inevitable, and all that was good in the old institutions would be in danger of being lost. Hegel, in his *Philosophy of Law*, offered a characteristic formulation of this point of view.³⁰ Conversely, a radical approach to traditional institutions could well lead to disrespect for traditional frontiers. In fact, it was a shrewd recognition of this latter connection that impelled many of the conservatives to support the persecutions of alleged German "Jacobins" in the years after 1815 (*Demagogenverfolgungen*). One of the leading instigators, the notorious Professor Schmalz, wrote of the secret societies which the "Jacobins" were supposed to have formed:

These clubs are the sources . . . of those insensate orations about the union of all Germany under one government (in a parliamentary system, as they call it . . .), in favor of which allegiance to the several dynasties is to be extinguished in every German breast by means of derision and agitation. . . . They preach German nationalism, as formerly the Jacobins preached cosmopolitanism, to make us forget the oaths which bind each of us to his sovereign.³¹

Thus when, a little later, Schmalz declared that the alleged Jacobins "seek constitutions in order to destroy the power of the princes,"³² he referred not only to constitutions in the several territorial states but also and especially to a constitution for all of Germany to which the princes were to be subject. But Schmalz's hostility to *German* nationalism by no means implies that he was not a strong *Prussian* patriot; on the contrary, territorial patriotism was one of the best means of defending princely absolutism.

But there was an important group among the opponents of reform in Prussia who were equally opponents of princely absolutism. These were the so-called *Altständischen*, reactionaries in the true sense rather than conserva-

respected, sometimes even adored, but nevertheless as Prussian we are universally hated. . . . Prussia appears altogether alien to all Germans. Any talk of amalgamation with Prussia arouses immediate fear. . . . But the idea of a common German fatherland has taken equally deep root. Whoever seizes upon this sentiment will rule Germany. . . ." But these sentiments represent only a passing phase of Marwitz' thought; politically Marwitz was a reactionary, and usually he adopted on the question of national allegiance the attitude normal in Prussian reactionaries, namely, provincial particularism. (Cf. the text following.)

³⁰ G. W. F. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, trans. S. W. Dyde (London, 1896), p. 329; cf. Franz Rosenzweig, *Hegel und der Staat* (Munich and Berlin, 1920), II. 168.

³¹ Theodor Anton Heinrich Schmalz, *Berichtigung einer Stelle in der Bredow-Venturinischen Chronik*, etc. (Berlin, 1815), pp. 11-14.

³² *Id.*, *Über des Herrn B. G. Niebuhrs Schrift wider die meinige, politische Vereine betreffend* (Berlin, 1815), p. 8.

tives, who looked back longingly to the days before the advent of absolute monarchy, when the aristocracy who made up the Estates of the Realm (*Stände*) lived and ruled in their localities and provinces as feudal lords untrammelled by interference from the nominal sovereign. When the Great Elector and his successors asserted the sovereign's claim to rule as well as to reign, thereby greatly reducing the political power of the aristocratic Estates, the provinces in which the Estates had exercised that power naturally lost a great deal of their importance as separate geographical entities; centralized rule meant a geographically centralized state. As a result, the *Altständischen*, represented by such men as the famous General York, opposed not only the absolutism but also the territorial consolidation of the Prussian monarchy of their day; and though like York they might serve the state faithfully, their loyalty to their several provinces was instinctively more profound than their loyalty to the unified monarchy. Yet their political principles would not allow them to join with the liberals in their assault on Prussian territorial absolutism, since a constitutional monarchy held even stronger centralizing implications than the existing absolute one. While there was always hope of driving a bargain with absolute monarchy to preserve or even to restore aristocratic institutions and aristocratic privileges in the provinces, especially if the reigning king were weak, there was almost no hope of driving such a bargain with a parliament based on some form of popular vote such as the reformers intended.

Three very different types of patriotic loyalty, then, were to be found in Prussia in the years between 1807 and 1815: German nationalism, directed at an ideal that was yet to be created but lived vividly in the minds of liberals; Prussian patriotism, directed at the existing state by those who wished to preserve that state; and provincial particularism, directed at the entities that had been politically submerged, favored by those who wished to restore those entities to their former position. Each type of patriotism was a product of a distinctive loyalty. But this situation is further complicated by the existence of that type of nationalism which is called "Romantic nationalism." Superficially the Romantics are hardly distinguishable from the reactionary Junkers in their political views. Both groups abhorred absolute monarchy, its rationalism and its methodical assimilation of individual and group differences, and looked yearningly past the period of absolute monarchy into the Middle Ages. But the Junkers and the Romantics were worlds apart in their reasons for this nostalgia. The Junkers, the *Altständischen*, coveted the social and political power, prestige, and privileges that their ancestors had enjoyed in feudal society. The Romantics, who were writers and aesthetes rather than

soldiers or petty feudal lords,³³ mourned above all the passing of the spiritual freedom supposedly enjoyed, and of the virtues in consequence supposedly displayed, by the German people before the deadening hand of despotism descended upon them. If they admired feudalism as a form of social organization, they did so for the most part indirectly, via this sentimental attachment to the Middle Ages. Thus an extremely wide gulf separated the sober and self-disciplined Junker Marwitz from the mystical Romantic poets like Novalis or Eichendorff,³⁴ and it took an opportunist like Adam Müller to mediate between the two groups on political matters.³⁵ This difference in their entire approach to politics produced an important distinction in their respective attitudes to the problem of nationalism. While the reactionaries, concerned as always with the concrete, gave their allegiance to the historic provinces in which their feudal forebears had held sway, the Romantics, interested in individuals rather than institutions, were devoted only to the German people themselves, who had trodden so nobly on the stage of history in those glorious bygone days. Romantic nationalism was directed literally at the nation and its "spirit" (the *Volks* and the *Volksgeist*), not at the state. To be sure, their emphasis on the peculiar virtues of the *German* nation, compared to all other nations, led in the course of time to worship of the state (for instance in Hegel) as a personification or symbol of the nation, but this process was a perversion of the thought and intentions of the early Romantics, who tended much more to protest against than to glorify the state.³⁶

Fundamentally and according to all their instincts, the early German Romantics were nonpolitical men. Yet their passion for the *Volks* and the *Volksgeist* did inevitably involve them in politics. They were inclined to regard the reform movement in the years between 1807 and 1815, and espe-

³³ On the aesthetic emphasis of Romanticism, which cannot be too strongly insisted upon, cf. Hans Kohn, "Romanticism and the Rise of German Nationalism," *Review of Politics*, XII (1950), 443. This article has valuable bibliographical notes.

³⁴ For example, one can imagine Marwitz or York listening incredulously and uncomprehendingly to Novalis on the state: "All your supports are inadequate if your state remains earth-borne. But if you make it aspire heavenward by means of some higher longing, if you endow it with a relationship to the universe, then you will have an inexhaustible spring, and your efforts will be richly rewarded." (Novalis cited by Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*, pp. 74-75. On Novalis, as well as on Eichendorff and Friedrich Schlegel, see also Kohn, *loc. cit.*, pp. 448-49, 456-60, 463.)

³⁵ For Müller's relationship with Marwitz, see [Wilhelm Dorow, ed.] *Denkschriften und Briefe zur Charakteristik der Welt und Litteratur* (Berlin, 1838-41), III, 216-17, and for the principal fruit of that relationship the document cited by Meusel, ed., *Marwitz*, II¹, 252-62. Müller himself is often classified as a Romantic, but temperamentally (which is very important) he was not; the same applies to K. L. v. Haller. (Cf. Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*, pp. 129, 234.)

³⁶ See throughout Kohn, *loc. cit.*, for the Romantics' attitude to the state. The whole subject of Romanticism, especially its political side, is, of course, fraught with danger, and oversimplification is inevitable.

cially the reforms of Hardenberg, as measures invented by absolutism to strengthen and perpetuate itself and to keep the *Volksgeist* submerged, and they aligned themselves with the reactionaries.

Devotion to the *Volksgeist* need not of itself imply political reaction. To be sure, the *Volksgeist* was a product of tradition, of the "organic" growth of the nation, and its admirers might therefore naturally look to the past for inspiration and guidance; the concept of *Volksgeist*, of the national spirit, might be used to keep at bay the rising concept of national sovereignty, that is, the specter of political democracy might be exorcised by the nonpolitical spell of the national tradition.³⁷ But the *Volksgeist* could also serve as a liberating force in the minds of those who were concerned with the present and the future, and not only with the past.³⁸ Thus a typically Romantic "folkish" nationalism arose after the end of the Napoleonic wars among a group whose political views were different from those of the Romantic poets of the first decade of the century. This was the generation of radical university students, disciples of the famous "Turnvater" Jahn, who composed the *Burschenschaften* in the years after the Congress of Vienna. These combined a sentimental attachment to the *Volks* and its traditions with a temperamental incapacity for political conservatism or quietism. By turning their attention from the medieval Holy Roman Empire of the German nation to the Teutonic Germans of antiquity (often with an admixture of Christian mysticism), they arrived at a conception of society which was equalitarian rather than feudal.³⁹ In this respect they were in agreement with the Prussian reformers, one of whose aims was to break down the barriers within society, and on this account some of the students and their teachers were regarded as subversive by the conservatives. They were, however, in fundamental disagreement with the methods employed by the reformers, particularly Hardenberg, to achieve their aims. They resented reform imposed from above, liberalism by decree (*Regierungsliberalismus*), which ignored the right and the capacity of the people to determine their own future. They resented also the fact that the reforms were sponsored by, and were likely to strengthen, the Prussian state, which lacked a *Volksgeist* of its own and which, instead of continuing to press for the formation of a political unit appropriate to the

³⁷ For elaboration of the ideas here briefly suggested, see particularly Kohn, *loc. cit.*, pp. 446-47, 451-54; Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*, p. 221, n. 2, pp. 257-58. Cf. further Srbik, *Deutsche Einheit*, I, 226-27.

³⁸ It should be recalled that willingness to look forward as well as backward was a characteristic even of the high priest of political Romanticism, Edmund Burke, who exerted great influence on the German Romantics.

³⁹ Their equalitarianism was by no means absolute; they thought of themselves often as an élite among the German people, and they were anti-Semitic, but the hierarchical concept was much less pronounced, and better camouflaged, with them than with the Romantic writers.

Volksgeist of all the Germans, now supported the German Confederation created at the Congress of Vienna which represented to the students nothing but the calculating, repressive, and Slav-tainted machinations of Metternichian Austria. Thus, both on the question of domestic social policy and on the question of national unification, these young Romantics tended to be more radical than some of the Prussian reformers themselves.⁴⁰

The emergence of the German Confederation may be said to have revolutionized thinking on the subject of nationalism among all sections of the population in Germany, not merely among the Romantics; the year 1815 marked a turning-point in this respect. To the liberals, the Confederation was profoundly unsatisfactory on two counts: it represented a weak gesture in the direction of German national unity, with sovereignty still residing substantially in the territorial states, instead of the thorough political unification that the liberals desired; and such influence as the Confederation had was unlikely to be thrown to the side of liberalism and reform. By clever maneuvering at the Congress of Vienna, the Austrian chancellor, Prince Metternich, had seen to it that the Diet of the Confederation would be virtually an instrument of Austrian policy in Germany. Since, under the special conditions of the polyglot Habsburg empire, the forces favoring reform there were in close alliance with liberation movements among the subject peoples and hence were dangerous to the maintenance of the power of the dynasty, Austrian domestic policy was of necessity rigidly conservative. Moreover, the liberal movements had to be insulated from possible encouragement from outside; such movements in the surrounding German territories must be suppressed. Austria's wider German interests directed her policy in the same direction. Since the Habsburg monarchy could not lead a liberal movement in Germany, it was best if such a movement did not arise to be led by others; at all events Prussia in particular, being Austria's chief rival in Germany, had to be prevented from espousing a liberal political philosophy and a liberal form of government, lest she become the focus of liberal hopes.⁴¹

⁴⁰ See on the politics of Jahn and of the universities, Hans Kohn, "Father Jahn's Nationalism," *Review of Politics*, XI (1949), 419-32; Scharff, *Der Gedanke der preussischen Vorherrschaft*, pp. 17-22; Paul Wentzcke and Georg Heer, *Geschichte der deutschen Burschenschaft* (Heidelberg, 1919-27), *passim*; Carl Brinkmann, *Der Nationalismus und die deutschen Universitäten im Zeitalter der deutschen Erhebung*, *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1931-32, particularly pp. 36-39, 44-45, 51-54, 61-62, 66.

⁴¹ Expressions of Metternich's German policy are scattered throughout Vol. III of his collected papers: Fürst Richard Metternich-Winneburg, ed., *Aus Metternich's nachgelassenen Papieren* (Vienna, 1880-84); see particularly pp. 171-81, 227, 241; see also for excellent analysis Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Metternich: der Staatsmann und der Mensch* (Munich, 1925), particularly I, 583-88; and Srbik, *Deutsche Einheit*, I, 199-200.

In this undertaking Metternich found valuable allies, not only among the rulers of some of the middle-sized German states such as Saxony and Bavaria who feared Prussia, but also within Prussia itself. To the Prussian conservatives here was a strong source of support against the liberals and radicals. Prince Wittgenstein, the Prussian minister of police and a diehard conservative, had no scruples about becoming an agent of Metternich's policy and persuaded the king to make himself and his chief minister, Hardenberg, virtually Austrian puppets. No others went quite so far as Wittgenstein, but there was a discernible movement among the conservatives in Prussia to rally to Austria. This could be done with the greatest propriety by the simple expedient of backing Austria in the Diet of the Confederation and extending the powers of the Confederation, for instance in the Carlsbad Decrees. Prussian conservatives, therefore, now became devoted admirers of the principle of an all-German government with some jurisdiction in the several states, as that principle was embodied in the Confederation.⁴²

Conversely, the liberals, the original apostles of German unity, now also had to accommodate their thinking and their political actions to the new situation created by the existence of the Confederation. No longer could they call upon the ideal of a united Germany to redress the old predominance of absolutism in the territorial states; on the contrary, the Confederation which passed for the government of Germany was successfully promoting a peculiar type of territorial absolutism subservient to its control and to that of Metternich. In the Carlsbad Decrees of 1819, in the interests of Austrian policy but through the medium of the Confederation, Metternich imposed upon all the German governments the duty of suppressing freedom of speech and freedom of the press. In these circumstances, liberals found themselves driven to defending territorial liberalism by attacking, in the name of Prussian sovereignty, the "Germany" responsible for the Carlsbad Decrees and the other fruits of Metternich's influence. Liberalism could in their opinion now be furthered only by withholding allegiance from the existing embodiment of the idea of German national unity, the Confederation, and by transferring it to the territorial states. Wilhelm von Humboldt, for example, in 1816 still urging Prussian support of the Confederation although warning of possible dangers, had by 1819 suffered a complete change of heart.⁴³ His draft of a

⁴² On Wittgenstein and on the Prussian involvement with Austria, see *ibid.*, I, 230-32; *Aus Metternich's Papieren*, III, 258-65; Heinrich von Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1879-85), II, 550-56, 632-34, III, 757-58; P. Bailleu, ed., "Metternich's Teplitzer Denkschrift," *Historische Zeitschrift*, L (1883), 190-92.

⁴³ See Humboldt's memorandum of December, 1816, cited in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, XIII¹, especially p. 59; cf. Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*, pp. 201-203; Kachler, *Wilhelm von Humboldt und der Staat*, pp. 325-26.

memorandum to the king of October 5, 1819, is worth quoting at some length for its acute analysis of the implications of the Carlsbad Decrees for the future of Germany from the liberal point of view:

It is no longer a question of temporary measures against agitators. . . . What is involved now is an extension of the powers of the Diet and a restriction of your Majesty's jurisdiction over your own subjects, a diminution of the independence of the monarchy. . . . The results of the Carlsbad Conferences have been substantially to permit the Diet to interfere directly in the federal affairs of any state of the Confederation. . . . The way is open for similar extensions of the powers of the Confederation in the future. . . . There is no knowing what may not, with greater or lesser justification, be based on this precedent. . . . In view of the close relationship of all laws, the entire body of legislation in your Majesty's states is in danger of becoming dependent on the decisions of the Diet. . . . The initiative of the President [the Austrian president of the Diet] also means that the first impulse in any important matter concerning Germany always appears to come from the court at Vienna alone, and Prussia is ranged among the states which are more or less passive. . . . The position of Prussia in the Diet is not so influential as it ought to be. . . .

Humboldt and Boyen, the joint sponsors of this document, assured the king that "we do not underestimate the beneficial bond that links Prussia to Germany, but we cannot deny that the feeling of belonging to a monarchy which is not absorbed in Germany has always been predominant in us."⁴⁴ Thus did these two liberals forget the drive for German unity which they had supported only a few years earlier. In military affairs also, Boyen's special field of activity, the reaction to the policies of the Confederation was similar. It had originally been planned at the Congress of Vienna to create a fairly strong military force at the disposal of the Confederation against outside aggression; but Boyen informed Hardenberg that Prussia ought to resist any move toward centralization if the control over the centralized forces did not rest in Prussian hands.⁴⁵ In this manner German liberalism (and not only in Prussia) turned its attention from the over-all German scene to the narrower one of the territorial state; territorial constitutions, territorial liberalism had perforce become ends in themselves instead of means to the end of fostering liberalism throughout Germany.⁴⁶

But territorial liberalism seemed to be in a most precarious position in these years after 1815. It was now threatened not only by the new conservatism of Metternich, which proposed to subject the power of the territorial

⁴⁴ Memorandum cited Humboldt, *Gesammelte Schriften*, XII², 364-74.

⁴⁵ Meinecke, *Boyen*, II, 280.

⁴⁶ In this respect, as well as in others, Metternich was successful; that is, by turning away from Germany the Prussian liberals forfeited leadership of any German liberal movement. On this point see Scharff, *Der Gedanke der preussischen Vorherrschaft*, pp. 76, 85-86, 90, 102-103, 106-11; also Srbik, *Deutsche Einheit*, I, 180-81.

sovereigns to the requirements of Austrian policy through the instrumentality of the Confederation, but also still by the old conservatism of the provincial particularists, which proposed to prevent the territorial sovereigns from invading feudal provincial traditions. Against an alliance of these forces, liberalism would have been powerless, caught, so to speak, in an ideological pincers movement. But such an alliance, at first glance an obvious tactical move, would in fact have been not at all to Metternich's taste. While Metternich proposed to prescribe policies to the territorial sovereigns, he intended also that the sovereigns be strong enough to carry them out. He could not tolerate the antimonarchical tendencies of provincial particularism any more than he could tolerate the antimonarchical tendencies of territorial constitutionalism. Absolute monarchy, in Metternich's scheme, had to be strengthened on both these fronts, while at the same time the monarchs had to be prevented from becoming strong enough to defy his will, and the territorial states had to be prevented from attracting to themselves a strong nationalist movement which might later release popular forces.⁴⁷ The worst thing that could happen in Germany, from Metternich's point of view, was an alliance of a liberal territorial sovereign with a liberal legislature, and it was fortunate for him that this threat materialized only in the duchy of Saxe-Weimar and not in the kingdom of Prussia.

Although the liberal movement in Germany, because of these peculiar requirements of Austrian policy, was spared the impossible task of fighting pan-German conservatism and reactionary provincial particularism acting in unison, yet the liberals were still gravely handicapped by their inability to achieve a clear-cut association with nationalist aspirations. The war of 1813-1815 had kindled much enthusiasm among the masses throughout Germany because they regarded it as both a war of liberation (*Befreiungskrieg*) from Napoleon and a war for popular liberty (*Freiheitskrieg*) from feudal and despotic oppression. If the liberals had been able to maintain this identification with popular nationalism, they might have developed among the masses (or rather among the middle classes on whom the masses depended for leadership) a following strong enough to withstand the trend toward reaction and lassitude that set in after the defeat of Napoleon. In Prussia, in particular, the reform movement might well have been pressed successfully instead of bogging down ignominiously by 1819. In that year, liberalism became a lost cause in Germany and not in Prussia alone. The initiative passed irrevocably into the hands of the conservatives, and even the task of national unification,

⁴⁷ Cf. in this connection Sir Charles Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh 1815-1822: Britain and the European Alliance* (2d ed., London, 1947), p. 187.

which belonged historically to the liberals and was performed by them in such countries as Italy and Belgium, fell in Germany to the successors of Marwitz instead of to those of Stein and Hardenberg. Even before 1815, liberalism and nationalism had been less secure in their relationship in Germany than elsewhere; after 1815, they were entirely unable to afford each other the mutual support that both needed.

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* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

George Washington and the Alien and Sedition Acts

MARSHALL SMELSER

IN 1798 the Congress of the United States enacted a series of "emergency" statutes for the internal security of the country, called the Alien and Sedition laws.¹ The Alien laws made naturalization more difficult than before, and authorized executive action to restrict the freedom of alien friends and enemies. The Sedition law gave the federal courts cognizance of the crime of libel when committed against an officer or body of officers of the federal government and was so phrased, it is generally agreed, as to abridge the freedom of the press. All of these statutes were warmly defended by the administration and bitterly assailed by the opposition in that era, but the circumstances of their enactment warrant further study. These statutes represent the fiercest convulsion of the most ferocious political battle between the American Revolution and the Jacksonian age. In the American tradition this episode almost amounts to a massacre of saints by saints and perhaps that is the reason why historians have often touched on the matter only in brief, preferring to write of more pleasant things.² Yet any act of Congress which

¹ The Naturalization Act extended the residence requirement for citizenship to fourteen years. The Alien Friends Act provided licensing or deportation of aliens at the discretion of the executive, and restricted their property rights. The Alien Enemies Act placed full control of enemy aliens' liberty in the hands of the executive. The Sedition Act was directed against subversive conspiracies, and defined and punished scandalous, malicious, contemptuous, and detractory publication against the government, either house of the legislature, or the President. The acts are in *United States Statutes at Large*, I (1845), 566, 570, 577, 596, and perhaps more widely accessible in *Documents of American History*, ed. Henry Steele Commager (several editions), I.

² Henry Adams put it well: "In recent times there has been a general disposition to explain away and to soften down the opinions and passions of that day; to throw a veil over their violence; to imagine a possible middle ground, from which the acts and motives of all parties will appear patriotic and wise, and their extravagance a mere misunderstanding. Such treatment of history makes both parties ridiculous." Henry Adams, *The Life of Albert Gallatin*, new lithoprint (New York, 1943), p. 159. This "general disposition" strongly perseveres. Since Adams wrote there have been several commendable exceptions, based for the most part on sources long available in print, and rather fewer which bring fresh data to a discussion of the politics of the 1790's. Of this latter class two stand out conspicuously: Samuel Eliot Morison's *Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis* (Boston, 1913) and Eugene Perry Link's *Democratic-Republican Societies, 1790-1800* (New York, 1942). Much of the earlier literature on the subject is polemic or pietist, and if all the writers were to be believed, and reconciliation attempted, one would necessarily conclude that the Alien and Sedition Acts were spontaneously generated. Of the subject of this paper, one of the rare early writers who stood up to the problem was Charles Francis Adams in *Works of John Adams, with a Life*, 10 vols. (Boston, 1850-56), I, 562, observing that Washington was never thought of in this connection, but that John Adams had not been so happily ignored. In the

appears to have abridged civil liberty and to have been strenuously supported thereafter as correct policy by the then majority party deserves the careful scrutiny of posterity.

As a contribution to that scrutiny the writer has chosen to examine the attitudes toward this legislation of the most venerated American of that generation, if not of all generations, George Washington.

Beginning at least as early as the fall of 1793 it was an article of the faith of some Federalists that much of the internal dissension of the country was not caused by honest differences of political opinion but by a group of plotters who aimed to subvert the government and constitution. Something of that idea is apparent in Washington's comment on Genêt to Richard Henry Lee, that the erratic Frenchman might be only "the dupe and the tool" of a faction having "local purposes."³ This idea of a clique of deceivers in national politics was soon broadened and clarified in his mind to embrace a band of pro-French conspirators who proposed to deliver up the United States to the heads of the French Republic.

The first apparent substantiation of the theory was the Whiskey Rebellion. From its inception Washington blamed it on a subversive element, the Democratic Societies, who inspired the insurrection by misleading their credulous followers.⁴ He dressed their activities in melodrama, "self-created . . . permanent Censors" meeting at night, who made their assertions with a disregard for "decency or truth," who were originally encouraged by Genêt.⁵ That remained his view of the western Pennsylvania disturbance thereafter: an attempt to destroy the constitution and the union, inspired by secret societies, fathered by Genêt,⁶ which used deceit as a principal weapon. In his message to Congress on this subject he put forward the same idea,

standard lives of Washington little or no attention is paid to this question. Shelby Little, *George Washington* (New York, 1929), pp. 453-54, has the longest entry—several paragraphs alluding to Washington's support of the Alien and Sedition Acts. Single paragraphs or clauses on the subject are found in the lives by Woodrow Wilson (1896), Norwood Young (1932), Louis M. Sears (1932), Nathaniel W. Stephenson and Waldo H. Dunn (1940). Washington's letter to John Adams, July 13, 1798, accepting Adams' invitation to head the army and endorsing the administration's security measures, is reprinted in the lives by John Marshall (reprint 1926) and John Frederick Schroeder and Benson J. Lossing (1903). The latest study of the subject, John C. Miller, *Crisis in Freedom: The Alien and Sedition Acts* (Boston, 1951), p. 73, correctly, but very briefly, states Washington's opinion of these acts after their passage.

³ Washington to Richard Henry Lee, Oct. 24, 1793, *The Writings of George Washington*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick, XXX-XXXVII (Washington, 1939-40), XXXIII, 138. Hereafter cited as *Writings*.

⁴ Washington to Charles Mynn Thruston, Aug. 10, 1794, *Writings*, XXXIII, 464-65.

⁵ Washington to Burges Ball, Sept. 25, 1794, *ibid.*, XXXIII, 505-507.

⁶ Letters to Henry Lee, Aug. 26, 1794, *ibid.*, XXXIII, 475-76; to Daniel Morgan, Oct. 8, 1794, XXXIII, 524; to Edmund Randolph, Oct. 16, 1794, XXXIV, 3; to John Jay, Nov. 1[-5], 1794, XXXIV, 17. Link, *Democratic-Republican Societies*, has made it pretty plain that the societies were home grown, and not imported from France.

emphasizing the disturbing fact that they were "self-created" and omitting only the alleged French connection.⁷

The widespread execration of Jay's Treaty confirmed his appraisal. Among the protests were resolutions formally adopted by meetings called for the purpose. The first set of such resolutions came from a meeting which called itself the Selectmen of Boston, and their protest was immediately followed by many others. The President doubted the spontaneity of the resolutions, suggesting to Vice-President John Adams that there may have been a "pre-concerted plan."⁸ A few days later, when offering the post of Secretary of State to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, he wrote of the danger to the ship of state, having to steer between "Sylla and charibdas" because of the efforts being made "to embroil us in the disputes of Europe."⁹ Still looking for a Secretary of State six weeks later he offered the job to Patrick Henry, and spoke of "a crisis . . . approaching" which would determine the survival of the government or whether "anarchy and confusion ensue."¹⁰ The mood continued and he wrote in December to the governor of Maryland of the "voice of malignancy" and of attempts "to destroy all confidence in the Constituted authorities of this country."¹¹ When the House of Representatives questioned the Jay Treaty in the following spring he gravely doubted the motives of the opposition:

With respect to the motives wch. have led to these measures, and wch have not only brought the Constitution, to the brink of a precipice, but the peace happiness and prosperity of the Country, into eminent danger, I shall say nothing. charity tells us they ought to be good; but suspicions say they must be bad. At Present my tongue shall be silent.¹²

The Jay Treaty produced a strain in Franco-American relations because the French regarded the treaty as markedly favoring Britain, a leader in the coalition with which France was at war. American merchant vessels were seized by the French. Since the United States minister at Paris, James Monroe, had not persuaded the French of the American position, that Jay's Treaty was in no sense anti-French, it was decided to recall him. The cabinet

⁷ Washington, "Sixth Annual Message to Congress," Nov. 19, 1794, *Writings*, XXXIV, 29. In the letter to Burges Ball, n.5 above, he admitted the propriety of temporary associations to petition for or to remonstrate against specific legislation. In the twentieth century it is easy to feel superior to the attitude of Washington and his fellow Federalists. Such a feeling is hardly subject to support or attack by the historical method, but it may be pointed out that the first generation of American administrators knew such partisanship only as prelude to revolution, that they lacked our experience of the genius of Americans for self-government with the aid of "self-created societies" called parties.

⁸ Washington to John Adams, Aug. 20, 1795, *Writings*, XXXIV, 280.

⁹ Washington to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Aug. 24, 1795, *ibid.*, XXXIV, 285.

¹⁰ Washington to Patrick Henry, Oct. 9, 1795, *ibid.*, XXXIV, 335.

¹¹ Washington to John Hawkins Stone, Dec. 6, 1795, *ibid.*, XXXIV, 385.

¹² Washington to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, May 1, 1796, *ibid.*, XXXV, 30.

memorandum recording this decision made Monroe a villain, a man in confidential correspondence with "the notorious enemies of the whole system of the government" in this country (that is probably a reference to sending material to friends for use in the campaign of 1796). He was also charged with knowing, "no doubt," of the anonymous letters of one of the employees of the American consulate in Paris, letters which proved "sinister designs, and shew that the public interests are no longer safe in the hands of such men."¹³ When Monroe replied with a partisan attack in the form of a publication entitled *View of the Conduct of the Executive*, Washington edited his own copy with angry marginal notes, which show that Washington agreed with the cabinet view, a fact confirmed by private letters to James McHenry and to Timothy Pickering.¹⁴ One marginal note in particular illustrates his conviction. Where Monroe had written, "The course which I pursued [in Paris] was a plain one" the ex-President replied, "So it is believed, for the object he had in view: but not for the object of his Mission, or for the honor and dignity of his Country."¹⁵ Many times he made it clear that French hostility to the United States was, in his mind, the result of advice and encouragement from unpatriotic Americans, and when the French Directory refused to accept Monroe's successor, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Washington thought the event had been expected by "their partisans among us."¹⁶

Early in 1797 he enlarged upon his experience, developing a conspiracy theory. To him there was sufficient proof that the French meant to control the United States government. Many Americans, alleging a fear of British influence in this country, were doing all they could to help the French minister in this design, which was the technique the French had followed in dealing, successfully, with other governments. First, the French had tried to undo American neutrality (Genêt). Failing in that, they hired "several presses, and many Scribblers" to win the people over. This too failed, because the people trusted "the present Chief Magistrate" (Washington), so now it was determined to destroy his popularity by attacks with "absolute falsehoods"

¹³ *Ibid.*, XXXV, 123 n.-124 n.; William B. Hatcher, *Edward Livingston* (Baton Rouge, 1940), pp. 42-43. Cf. n. 15 below.

¹⁴ Washington to James McHenry, Aug. 14, 1797, *Writings*, XXXVI, 8; Washington to Timothy Pickering, Aug. 29, 1797, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 18.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 218, probably in March, 1798. In addition to Monroe's general Gallophilia, the weightiest document which the pro-Hamilton partisan J. C. Hamilton could produce against Monroe was an intercepted letter to Dr. George Logan, enclosing a political essay for anonymous publication in Benjamin Franklin Bache's *Aurora*. Cf. John C. Hamilton, *History of the Republic of the United States* (2d ed., New York, 1864), VII, 75 n.-76 n. Ellipses were not always clearly shown by the author.

¹⁶ Letters to Edmund Randolph, July 31, 1795, *Writings*, XXXIV, 266; to Alexander Hamilton, May 8, 1796, XXXV, 39, 41; to Thomas Pinckney, May 28, 1797, XXXV, 452-53; to Timothy Pickering, Apr. 10, 1797, XXXV, 435, and Aug. 29, 1797, XXXVI, 19; to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Dec. 4, 1797, XXXVI, 90.

if useful. Such attacks had been led "by our own People."¹⁷ By the spring of 1798 he seemed prepared to believe that "letters have been intercepted from some M—rs of C—g—ss to the D—ct—y of F—, of a treasonable nature" if James McHenry would confirm the rumor.¹⁸

These convictions explain some of the saber thrusts of the old soldier's "Farewell Address," a document usually read as the basic charter of American foreign policy. It may be that. It is also an instructive source for the study of the history of political parties, written in the summer when he and his collaborators felt the press needles pricking painfully. Excerpts, in order, show the punctures:

Passions agitated in every direction . . . *Geographical* discriminations . . . designing men . . . combinations and Associations . . . artful and enterprizing minority . . . ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction . . . cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men . . . irregular oppositions . . .

And he told how party spirit causes

ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and and [*sic*] the will of one country, are subjected to the policy and will of another.¹⁹

When the climax of Franco-American hostility was reached in the X.Y.Z. Affair, Washington saw it as a hopeful sign. At first, although indignation was public and universal, he still thought opposition leaders would not change their minds "unless there should appear a manifest desertion of their followers," but six weeks later he thought the longed-for desertion had taken place.²⁰

Not many presidents have suffered as much from the press as George Washington did. When partisan editors set up rival newspapers during his first term they did not directly involve him, but their brawling so alarmed him that he doubted whether the government could survive it.²¹ He also feared their unfounded charges would give the impression to foreigners that the Union was about to dissolve.²² During the arguments over the proper reply to make to Genêt's impudence, the opposition press irritated him so

¹⁷ Washington to David Stuart, Jan. 8, 1797, *ibid.*, XXXV, 357–59, a very significant Federalist document.

¹⁸ Washington to James McHenry, Mar. 27, 1798, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 191–92.

¹⁹ "Farewell Address," Sept. 19, 1796, *ibid.*, XXXV, 214–38.

²⁰ Washington to Timothy Pickering, Apr. 16, 1798, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 248–49; to Alexander Hamilton, May 27, 1798, XXXVI, 272.

²¹ Washington to Edmund Randolph, Aug. 26, 1792, *ibid.*, XXXII, 136–37; to Alexander Hamilton, Aug. 26, 1792, XXXII, 132–34.

²² Washington to Gouverneur Morris, June 21, 1792, *ibid.*, XXXII, 63, and Oct. 20, 1792, XXXII, 189–90.

that he described it as “diabolical,” shooting “arrows of malevolence” which were “outrages on common decency” and he thought that the longer such editors as Bache and Philip Freneau were ignored, the worse they would become.²³

The press continued to irritate him but it was not until the national debate on the Jay Treaty that he felt their blows personally. It was both painful and surprising. He had hoped to be above politics,²⁴ hence the pain. And he was satisfied with his conduct of office,²⁵ hence the surprise. In the summer of 1796 he thought he was being flogged beyond endurance, a fact easily illustrated from his letters: to Henry Knox (April 4), “the abuse of Mr. Bache”; to John Jay (May 8), “dissiminating the poison”; to Oliver Wolcott (June 24), “The Aurora is . . . preparing the Public mind”; to Alexander Hamilton (June 26), “buffeted in the public prints by a set of infamous scribblers”; to James McHenry (July 1), “the Executive Acts *must* be arraigned”; to Thomas Jefferson (July 6), “exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero; a notorious defaulter; or even to a common pick-pocket”; to Oliver Wolcott (July 6), “Mr. Bache will continue his attacks”; to Timothy Pickering (July 18), “attacks . . . indecent as they are void of truth and fairness”; to the same (August 10), “all the envenomed pens.”²⁶ (These remarks, together, form an essential part of the context of the “Farewell Address.”)

The famous attacks upon him at the time of his departure from the presidency, by Bache (“the name of WASHINGTON from this day ceases to give a currency to political iniquity”) and Thomas Paine (“treacherous in private friendship, and a hypocrite in public life . . . apostate . . . imposter [*sic*] . . .”)²⁷ were therefore but two of many such assaults. Perhaps the most painful of all was the republication by Bache of letters forged by *emigré* loyalists in 1777 to discredit his leadership. The hurt he suffered must have been

²³ Washington to Henry Lee, July 21, 1793, *ibid.*, XXXIII, 23–24. See also letters to Edmund Pendleton, Sept. 23, 1793, and Thomas Jefferson, Oct. 7, 1793, *ibid.*, XXXIII, 95, 113.

²⁴ Washington to John Francis Mercer, Sept. 26, 1792, *ibid.*, XXXII, 165.

²⁵ “Malignity therefore may dart her shafts; but no earthly power can deprive me of the consolation of knowing that I have not in the course of my administration been guilty of a *wilful* error . . .”—to David Humphreys, June 12, 1796, *ibid.*, XXXV, 92.

²⁶ All in *Writings*, XXXV, 13–174, *passim*.

²⁷ Reprinted in Edward Channing, *History of the United States*, 6 vols. (New York, 1932–36), IV, 174 n., 175. Link, *Democratic-Republican Societies*, p. 196, quotes a quatrain found in Joel Barlow’s notebook: “Thomas Paine’s direction to the Sculptor who should make the statue of Washington,”

Take from the mine the coldest, hardest stone,
It needs no fashion, it is Washington;
But if you chisel, let your stroke be rude,
And on his breast engrave *Ingratitude!*

acute, for almost his first act on leaving office was to defend himself against Bache's low blow by depositing a statement of the falsity of the letters in the archives of the Department of State.²⁸

In 1798, the year of the Sedition Act, he spoke very strongly of the character of opposition speech and publication (before he knew of the X.Y.Z. Affair): "But the more the views of those who are opposed to the measures of our Government are developed, the less surprised I am at the attempt and the means, cowardly, illiberal and assassin [*sic*] like, which are used to subvert it; and to destroy all confidence in those who are entrusted with the Administration thereof."²⁹

On the matter of aliens, the other principal subject of the security statutes passed in 1798, Washington held more restrained views, restrained but suspicious. Although he was a large holder of wild lands he was not in favor of promoting immigration generally. In 1794, when writing of a proposal to import the University of Geneva *en masse*, to be resettled in the District of Columbia, he was of the opinion that immigration need not be encouraged except for "useful Mechanics and some particular descriptions of men or professions" and he opposed settling immigrants in blocks because "they retain the Language, habits and principles (good or bad) which they bring."³⁰ After the anguish of the Jay Treaty debate his convictions were strengthened for he now saw a political danger in immigrants, many of whom came to this country "full of prejudices against their own government, some against all government."³¹

The Fifth Congress (1797-1799) met in an atmosphere of crisis.³² Following the recall of Monroe, his successor, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, had been rejected by the French government. Facing a real and to him (although not to all his colleagues) unpleasant prospect of war, newly inaugurated President Adams decided to send a three-man mission to settle outstanding Franco-American differences. The commissioners chosen were John Marshall, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Elbridge Gerry. The decision to send them had been made in May, 1797, and it was not until ten months later that the failure of the mission was known. Meanwhile the temper of the Congress

²⁸ Washington to Benjamin Walker, Jan. 12, 1797, *Writings*, XXXV, 364; to Timothy Pickering, Mar. 3, 1797, XXXV, 414-16; to Jeremiah Wadsworth, Mar. 6, 1797, XXXV, 420; to the Rev. William Gordon, Oct. 15, 1797, XXXVI, 50.

²⁹ Washington to Timothy Pickering, Feb. 6, 1798, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 156.

³⁰ Washington to John Adams, Nov. 15, 1794, *ibid.*, XXXIV, 23.

³¹ Washington to Sir John Sinclair, Dec. 11, 1796, *ibid.*, XXXV, 325-26.

³² The Congress was politically divided as follows: in the House, Federalists 58 seats and Democratic-Republicans 48; in the Senate, Federalists 20 seats and Democratic-Republicans 12. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945* (Washington, 1949), p. 293.

had worn threadbare from petty frictions, strong partisanship, and suspense.³³

When the news came from France it was news of the sordid business now called the X.Y.Z. Affair, in which French agents—otherwise unidentified at the time—had tried to sell peace to the Americans. Federalist sensations of outrage were immediate and enduring. Democratic-Republican strength slackened. As a direct reaction to the French efforts to practice diplomatic extortion, the Congress took steps to strengthen the national defense against both external and internal enemies, by enlarging the army, refounding the navy, authorizing a loan, voiding earlier agreements with France, passing acts to control aliens, and passing an act to define and punish sedition.

Throughout these lively months (March–July, 1798) Washington, at Mount Vernon, kept as closely in contact with congressional affairs in Philadelphia as eighteenth-century communications permitted. Two correspondents in Philadelphia took special care to keep him up to date on political affairs.

Alexander White, ex-congressman from Virginia, and one of the commissioners of the District of Columbia (1795–1802),³⁴ was in Philadelphia lobbying for funds for construction work in the District.³⁵ Before the X.Y.Z. story broke, Washington had asked him to write of what was happening in Congress “as a calm observer (and in confidence if you choose it) . . . for misrepresentation and party feuds have arisen to such a height, as to distort truth and to become portentous of the most serious consequences.”³⁶ When President Adams published the X.Y.Z. dispatches from the commissioners in France, Senator James Lloyd of Maryland, co-author of the Sedition Act,³⁷ voluntarily began a correspondence with the retired President. In addition to these correspondents the ex-President was kept informed of political developments from time to time (but with relative brevity) by Secretary of State Timothy Pickering, Secretary of War James McHenry, and Alexander Hamilton, the “comet bright” (now at aphelion in New York).

White’s letters were interesting and also instructive to the extent that they show the humor or spirit of the Congress as seen by a Federalist, but analysis shows them to be compounded more of rumor than of fact. Senator Lloyd, however, had “inside information” from the Federalist caucus, and was

³³ “Party spirit appears to have increased, and with it a greater degree of acrimony is apparent among the Members of Congress than even during the discussion of the British Treaty—The letters from our Ministers in France written in cypher are not yet decyphered.” Alexander White to Washington, Mar. 10, 1798. Washington Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 287.

³⁴ Saul K. Padover, ed., *Thomas Jefferson and the National Capital* (Washington, 1946), pp. 517, 519.

³⁵ Washington to Alexander White, Mar. 25, 1798, *Writings*, XXXVI, 189–91.

³⁶ Same to same, Mar. 1, 1798, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 175–76.

³⁷ Lloyd was chairman of the committee which reported out the Sedition Act in the form which passed the Senate. Thomas Hart Benton, ed., *Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, 16 vols. (New York, 1857–63), II, 173, 175.

factually informative. It was he who sent Washington the first news of the X.Y.Z. episode in a short note in which he added congratulations "on the prospect we have of speedily seeing our fellow Citizens united in a firm determination to support our Government and preserve our Independence."³⁸ Washington replied with thanks and an exclamation: "What a scene of corruption and profligacy . . ." and seemed to be rather less hopeful than Lloyd of the prospect of uniting the Americans.³⁹ Seven weeks later Lloyd sent John Adams' message to Congress of June 6 and added news from Theodore Sedgwick in Massachusetts and James Ross in Pittsburgh (both senators) "and from all quarters . . . of the changes which have taken place in the public mind," which was now apparently determined to support the government.⁴⁰ Washington thanked him and expressed continued worries regarding the evil effects of partisanship.⁴¹

On June 18 Lloyd predicted that "We shall very soon declare the Treaty with France void and pass a strong act to punish Sedition."⁴² In his acknowledgment of this information Washington may have expressed himself explicitly on the proposal of a sedition law but the last paragraph of the only known copy of his letter (a badly made press copy apparently containing some heated remarks on the French government, the American opposition, and the baneful Bache) is almost entirely illegible and defies transcription.⁴³ On July 4 Lloyd closed the series of exchanges with a letter that deserves extended quotation. He spoke of "the few wicked men who, for base & selfish purposes, wish to subject our Country to foreign domination" and then gave details of the progress of Congress in overcoming them:

. . . Your Excellency has probably seen in the papers a bill which was introduced into the Senate, to define and punish the Crimes of Treason & Sedition.

This bill after having been amended, as some of my friends think, by striking out that part which relates to Treason, and having afforded much ground for declamation to the lovers of Liberty, or, in other words, to the Jacobins, passed the Senate, yesterday 18 to six & will certainly pass the Ho: of Representatives. I enclose the bill as amended. . . .

³⁸ James Lloyd to Washington, Apr. 9, 1798, Washington Papers, vol. 288.

³⁹ Washington to James Lloyd, Apr. 15, 1798, *Writings*, XXXVI, 246-47.

⁴⁰ James Lloyd to Washington, June 6, 1798, Washington Papers, vol. 288.

⁴¹ Washington to James Lloyd, June 13, 1798, *Writings*, XXXVI, 288-89.

⁴² James Lloyd to Washington, June 18, 1798, Washington Papers, vol. 288. In the same paragraph he regretted that there was no law to prevent Dr. Logan's departure for France.

⁴³ Washington to James Lloyd, June 25, 1798, *Writings*, XXXVI, 298-99. The writer can read less of the copy in the Washington Papers than John C. Fitzpatrick was able to read. Perhaps the original will some day be found in a Lloyd family collection in Maryland. Fitzpatrick read it thus: "I wonder the French Government has not more pride than to expose to the world such flimsy performances as the ministers of it exhibit by way of *complaint and argument*. But it is still more to be wondered at, that these charges, which have been refuted over and over again, should find men. . . . The Editor of the Aurora . . . and bolder! Whence his support? How does the advocating French . . . account for . . . the British?"

I fear Congress will close the session without a declaration of War, which I look upon as necessary to enable us to lay our hands on traitors, and as the best means that can be resorted to, to destroy the effect of the skill of the Directory in their transactions with Mr. Gerry.⁴⁴

That quality of persistence so unanimously remarked by Washington's biographers was revealed by his continuing attitude toward the great French plot. He hardly wavered once he was convinced. In August he wrote that "the Agents and Partizans of France" were hard at work to bring the administration "into disrepute; to promote divisions among us."⁴⁵ If the French invaded the United States they would try the southern states "because they will expect from the tenor of the debates in Congress, to find more friends there."⁴⁶ The only reason to expect invasion was that the French had been encouraged "by their Agents and Partisans" to think the country divided.⁴⁷ He agreed "that all secret enemies to the peace and happiness of this Country should be unmasked."⁴⁸ "To blind, and irritate the People against the Government (to effect a change in it) is their sole aim."⁴⁹ He spoke of "misrepresentation and false alarms" which keep the people "in ignorance and terror,"⁵⁰ circulated by "the Republicans, as they have very erroneously called themselves,"⁵¹ who issue many arguments against every aspect of foreign policy—here their arguments were summarized by Washington and followed by "&ca. &ca. &ca."⁵²

The legislative program of 1798 made him more hopeful of the nation's safety than he had been. He thought "that the public voice, expressed with so much unanimity and decision, with the preparations that are making, will undeceive the French Directory," deter France from invading the United States, and cause her to confine her operations to sea warfare and coastal raids.

⁴⁴ James Lloyd to Washington, July 4, 1798, Washington Papers, vol. 289. To the great pain of Federalists, Commissioner Gerry had stayed in Paris despite the disapproval of his departing colleagues.

⁴⁵ Washington to William Heth, Aug. 5, 1798, *Writings*, XXXVI, 389. See also letter to Alexander Addison, June 3, 1798, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 280.

⁴⁶ Washington to Timothy Pickering, July 11, 1798, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 324; to Alexander Hamilton, July 14, 1798, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 331-34.

⁴⁷ Washington to John Adams, July 4, 1798, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 313-14.

⁴⁸ Washington to William Heth, July 18, 1798, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 352.

⁴⁹ Washington to Timothy Pickering, Oct. 18, 1798, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 498.

⁵⁰ Same to same, Feb. 10, 1799, *ibid.*, XXXVII, 126-27.

⁵¹ Washington to Bushrod Washington, May 5, 1799, *ibid.*, XXXVII, 200-201.

⁵² Washington to John Trumbull, June 25, 1799, *ibid.*, XXXVII, 248-50. The only variation on the theme was a note to Lafayette, Dec. 25, 1798, *ibid.*, XXXVII, 64-70, in the course of a lengthy review of recent political history, in which he said that the American opposition claimed to be made up of the sole friends of France "when in fact they had no more regard for that Nation than for the Grand Turk, further than their own views were promoted by it." The meaning of this is not entirely clear, but on the face of it, it is inconsistent with earlier and later remarks on the same subject.

This idea was written into six of his letters, July 15 to August 10, 1798.⁵³

In the fall of the year he confessed his faith in the existence of the "Illuminati" conspiracy. The Reverend G. W. Snyder sent him a copy of John Robison's *Proofs of a Conspiracy &c*, which he politely acknowledged, adding that none of the American Masonic lodges was "contaminated." When Snyder misunderstood this remark as skepticism, Washington added, in a second letter, that he did not mean to appear to doubt that the "Doctrines of the Illuminati, and principles of Jacobinism" were spreading in the United States—"no one is more truly satisfied of this fact than I am." What he had meant was that the American transmission belt was operated by the Democratic societies, not by the Masons.⁵⁴

The voluntary mission of Dr. George Logan to France in 1798 aroused his deepest suspicions. He regarded the Philadelphia humanitarian as America's Jacobin minister to France, probably sent by his fellow conspirators to assist the Directory in the adoption of a new line of approach to their perennial object, the subversion of the Constitution of the United States.⁵⁵ After his return from France, Logan came to call on him (November, 1798) accompanied by a mutual friend, the Reverend Dr. Blackwell. Washington promptly recorded the interview and his own studied coolness in a circumstantial memorandum. In justice to Logan he added at the end, ". . . he sd. *he told Citizen Merlin* [of Douai, First Director] that if the U. S. were invaded by France they wd. unite to a man to oppose the Invaders."⁵⁶

But he continued in his opinion of a French plot, thereafter, urging Patrick Henry (by this time a Federalist) to run for office because the nation was endangered by the refusal of "the most respectable, and best qualified characters" to enter public life,⁵⁷ ascribing the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798 to the same Jacobin conspiracy,⁵⁸ and urging the officers of government not to be quiet under accusations of bribery published by the journalist

⁵³ Washington to Edward Carrington, July 15; to Henry Hill, July 15; to James Marshall, July 16; to William Heth, July 18; to John Trumbull, July 25; to William Vans Murray, Aug. 10, *Writings*, XXXVI, 340-407. The quotation is from the letter to Carrington.

⁵⁴ Washington to the Rev. G. W. Snyder, Sept. 25, 1798 and Oct. 24, 1798, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 452-53, 518-19. The Illuminati—so the allegations went—was founded in Bavaria by Adam Weishaupt, intended to take over the world by corrupting its morals, and inspired the excesses of the French Revolution. A chapter was said to have been founded in America before 1786. Vernon Stauffer, *New England and the Bavarian Illuminati* (New York, 1918) is useful.

⁵⁵ Washington to William Vans Murray, Aug. 10, 1798, Dec. 26, 1798, *Writings*, XXXVI, 406-407, XXXVII, 71. Cf. Frederick B. Tolles, "Unofficial Ambassador: George Logan's Mission to France, 1798," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., VII (January, 1950), 3-25.

⁵⁶ "Memorandum of an interview," Nov. 13, 1798, *Writings*, XXXVII, 18-20.

⁵⁷ Washington to Patrick Henry, Jan. 15, 1799, *ibid.*, XXXVII, 87-90.

⁵⁸ Washington to the Rev. Bryan, Lord Fairfax, Jan. 20, 1799, *ibid.*, XXXVII, 91-95.

Duane, one of the editors who were trying to bring about "a disunion of the States."⁵⁹

More specific than these generalized apprehensions were his convictions regarding the administration's defense measures of 1798. During July and August he gave blanket approval to the several statutes. To James McHenry, Secretary of War: "... I highly approve of all the defensive and precautionary measures . . . and wish they had been more energetic."⁶⁰ To President Adams: "... no one can more cordially approve of the wise and prudent measures of your Administration."⁶¹ To Charles Carroll of Carrollton: "I highly approve of the measures taken by Government. . . . I even wish they had been *more energetic*."⁶² In addition to words he contributed works, actively supporting the administration's stand by circulating Judge Alexander Addison's pro-Administration jury charges on the subject of the Alien and Sedition Acts,⁶³ and he dismissed the opposing arguments as part of the usual attempt "to disturb the public mind with their unfounded and ill favored forebodings."⁶⁴ When Alexander Spotswood expressed some doubts of the constitutionality and expedience of the statutes, and admitted being influenced by an opposition pamphlet, Washington composed a brief defense of the acts himself, although he argued only the dangers from the presence of aliens and made no direct defense of the Sedition Act.⁶⁵

Another illustration of the genuine anxiety Washington felt for the nation's safety was his frequently expressed fear of procuring army officers for the expanded force from among the Republicans or aliens. Conversely, he urged that Federalists be sought out for commissions. He stated these ideas in at least eleven letters in the summer and fall of 1798, eight of them to Secretary of War McHenry.⁶⁶

Enough of George Washington's reactions to political events of the 1790's were recorded on paper to outline all the animosities and irritations which the Federalists tried to deal with by passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts.

⁵⁹ Washington to Timothy Pickering, Aug. 4, 1799, *ibid.*, XXXVII, 323-24; one of Washington's very rare jokes is in a letter to James McHenry on the same subject, Aug. 11, 1799, *ibid.*, XXXVII, 327-28.

⁶⁰ Washington to James McHenry, July 4, 1798, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 306; written before he knew the Sedition Act had passed, but after Lloyd told him it was in the works.

⁶¹ Washington to John Adams, July 13, 1798, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 328. By this time he knew that the Alien Acts were law, and that the Sedition Act had passed the Senate.

⁶² Washington to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Aug. 2, 1798, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 383-84.

⁶³ Washington to John Marshall, Dec. 30, 1798, to Bushrod Washington, Dec. 31, 1798, *ibid.*, XXXVII, 76, 80-81.

⁶⁴ Washington to William Vans Murray, Dec. 26, 1798, *ibid.*, XXXVII, 72.

⁶⁵ Washington to Alexander Spotswood, Nov. 22, 1798, *ibid.*, XXXVII, 23-24.

⁶⁶ Washington to James McHenry, July 5, 14, 25, Aug. 4, 13, Sept. 30, Oct. 15, 21; to Alexander Hamilton, Aug. 9; to Edward Carrington, Oct. 22; to W. R. Davie, Oct. 24, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 319-516.

His earlier exasperation at the attacks upon him and upon his administration by newspaper editors, and his mistrust of the politics of immigrants, provide a typical series of Federalist motives for the internal security statutes of 1798. His correspondence was full of grievances of the sort that Federalists intended to redress by the acts. He knew the general temper of the Congress which passed them, and he knew in advance of the projected Sedition Act. After the laws were enacted he explicitly approved and actively defended them.⁶⁷

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⁶⁷ His opponents called him pro-British but he put nothing on paper to show that he was pro-British in any meaningful sense of the term. Nor was he of the Federalist wing which was intransigent in French affairs, being always willing for the United States to enter "fair" negotiations with the French. Letters to Lafayette, Dec. 25, 1798, and Timothy Pickering, Feb. 10, 1799, *ibid.*, XXXVII, 68, 127.

Who Were the Southern Whigs?

CHARLES GRIER SELLERS, JR.

STUDENTS of the Old South have spent much of their time in recent years dispelling myths about that fabled land of moonlight and magnolias. Our understanding of the social, intellectual, and economic life of the ante-bellum South has been considerably revised and immeasurably widened by the work of a large number of able scholars.

Political history, however, has been unfashionable, and one of the results has been the survival of a series of myths about the political life of the South in the 1830's and 1840's. The key myth may be called the myth of a monolithic South: a section unified as early as the 1820's in its devotion to state rights doctrines and its hostility to the nationalistic, antislavery, capitalistic North. The result of approaching ante-bellum history by way of Fort Sumter and Appomattox, this point of view found its classic statements in the apologias of Jefferson Davis¹ and Alexander H. Stephens,² but it was made respectable in the first generation of professional scholarship by such historians as Herman Von Holst³ and John W. Burgess.⁴ It colored such early monographs as U. B. Phillips' "Georgia and State Rights"⁵ and H. M. Wagstaff's *States Rights and Political Parties in North Carolina, 1776-1861*,⁶ and is to be seen in most of the more recent works on the pre-Civil War South.⁷ It has also given rise to the corollary myths that Calhoun was the

¹ *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, 2 vols. (New York, 1881).

² *A Constitutional View of the Late War between the States*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1868-70).

³ *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, 8 vols. (Chicago, 1876-92).

⁴ *The Middle Period, 1817-1858* (New York, 1905).

⁵ *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1901, II, 1-224.

⁶ Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXIV (1906), Nos. 7-8.

⁷ See particularly Jesse T. Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority, 1784-1861* (New York, 1930); Robert S. Cotterill, *The Old South* (Glendale, Calif., 1939); and Charles M. Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun*, 3 vols. (Indianapolis, 1944-51). Charles S. Sydnor, in what is, in many respects, the finest work on the ante-bellum South, presents a persuasive restatement of the traditional sectional-state rights interpretation. His chapter headings on politics from the Panic of 1819 to nullification describe a developing sectionalism: "From Economic Nationalism to Political Sectionalism," "End of the Virginia Dynasty," "The Lower South Adopts State Rights," and "Bold Acts and Bolder Thoughts." The 1830's and 1840's, however, present a paradox. Professor Sydnor finds a growing "Regionalism in Mind and Spirit," but a "decline of sectionalism in politics." This he explains as a result of the fact that "major Southern hopes and fears found no champion in either party," so that "party conflict south of the Potomac . . . had the hollow sound of a stage duel with tin swords." "The agrarian South felt little interest," writes Professor Sydnor, in that conflict between the "wealthier and more conservative segments of society" and the liberal, democratic elements "which formed a major issue between the Democratic and Whig parties" in the nation as a whole. *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848* (Baton

representative spokesman and political leader of the South after about 1830, and that the Whig party in the South mainly reflected the state rights proclivities of the great planters.

These myths have been strengthened by Frederick Jackson Turner's sectional analysis of our early national history. Turner's approach has been extremely fruitful, but its sweeping application has tended to exaggerate differing sectional tendencies into absolute sectional differences. The application of geographic sectionalism to individual states, moreover, has fostered the further myth that political strife within the Old South was confined largely to struggles over intrastate sectional issues between upcountry and low country, hill country and "black belt."⁸

All of these myths have some basis in fact. They are, however, the product of a misplaced emphasis which has permeated nearly all the studies of pre-Civil War southern politics. Sectionalism and state rights have been made the central themes of southern political history for almost the entire ante-bellum period. Southern opposition to nationalistic legislation by Congress has been overemphasized. And the social, economic, and ideological lines of political cleavage within the slave states have been obscured. The early history of the Whig party below Mason and Dixon's line shows the character of these distortions.

It is too often forgotten that in the ante-bellum period the South had a vigorous two-party system, an asset it has never since enjoyed. Until at least the later 1840's, the voting southerner was much more interested in the success of his own party and its policies than in banding together with southerners of the opposite party to defend the Constitution and southern rights against invasion by the North. The parties were evenly matched, and elections were bitterly contested. It was rare for any southern state to be regarded as absolutely safe for either party. Of the 425,629 votes cast in the slave states at the election of 1836, the Whigs had a majority of only 243 popular votes. In this and the three succeeding presidential elections, a total of 2,745,171 votes were cast, but the over-all margin, again in favor of the Whigs, was only 66,295, or 2.4 per cent of the total votes. In these four elections the Whigs carried a total of twenty-seven southern states and the Democrats twenty-six.⁹

Rouge, 1948), especially p. 316. Notable for their freedom from overemphasis on sectionalism are Thomas P. Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee: A Study in Frontier Democracy* (Chapel Hill, 1932); and Roger W. Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana* (University, La., 1939).

⁸ See especially William A. Schaper, "Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1900, I, 237-463; and Charles H. Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia from 1776 to 1861* (Chicago, 1910).

⁹ Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency* (Boston, 1898), pp. 185-88, 203-204, 223, 243. Cf. Fletcher M. Green, "Democracy in the Old South," *Journal of Southern History*, XII (1946), 20-21.

An equally close rivalry is evident in congressional representation. In the five congressional elections between 1832 and 1842, southern Democrats won an aggregate total of 234 seats, while their opponents captured 263. Whigs predominated among southern representatives in three of these five Congresses, and Democrats in two. In three of them the margin between the southern wings of the parties was five or less.¹⁰ We have then a picture of keen political competition, with a vigorous Whig party maintaining a slight ascendancy.

What did this Whig party stand for? The pioneer account of the southern Whigs was the essay by U. B. Phillips which, significantly, appeared in the *Festschrift* to Frederick Jackson Turner.¹¹ This study shows Phillips' characteristic tendency to generalize about the entire South on the basis of conditions in his native Georgia. "The great central body of southern Whigs," he declares, "were the cotton producers, who were first state-rights men pure and simple and joined the Whigs from a sense of outrage at Jackson's threat of coercing South Carolina."¹²

Two years after Phillips' essay appeared, Arthur C. Cole published his exhaustive monograph on *The Whig Party in the South*.¹³ Less than a third of the Cole volume is concerned with the period before 1844, when Whiggery was of greatest importance in the South, and he generally follows the Phillips interpretation of its origins. His account of the birth of the party devotes three pages to early National Republicanism in the South, twenty to the anti-Jackson sentiment aroused during the nullification crisis, and only four and a half to the fight over the national bank and financial policy.¹⁴ "Various

¹⁰ Party affiliations of members of Congress have been determined largely from election returns in *Niles' Register* up to 1837, and from the *Whig Almanac* for the subsequent years. These sources have been supplemented by information from: *A Biographical Congressional Directory* (Washington, 1913); Charles H. Ambler, "Virginia and the Presidential Succession, 1840-1844," in *Essays in American History Dedicated to Frederick Jackson Turner* (New York, 1910), pp. 165-202; Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*; Henry H. Simms, *The Rise of the Whigs in Virginia, 1824-1840* (Richmond, 1929); J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *Party Politics in North Carolina, 1835-1860*, James Sprunt Historical Publications, XV (1916); Clifford C. Norton, *The Democratic Party in Ante-Bellum North Carolina, 1835-1861*, James Sprunt Historical Studies, XXI (1930); Phillips, "Georgia and State Rights," *loc. cit.*; Paul Murray, "The Whig Party in Georgia, 1825-1853," James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, XXIX (1948); Theodore H. Jack, *Sectionalism and Party Politics in Alabama, 1819-1842* (Menasha, Wis., 1919); Cleo Hearon, "Nullification in Mississippi," *Mississippi Historical Society Publications*, XII (1912), 37-71; James E. Winston, "The Mississippi Whigs and the Tariff, 1834-1844," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXII (1937), 505-24; James B. Ranck, *Alfred Gallatin Brown: Radical Southern Nationalist* (New York, 1937); Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Louisiana and the Tariff, 1816-1846," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXV (1942), 24-148; and Wendell H. Stephenson, *Alexander Porter: Whig Planter of Old Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, 1934).

¹¹ "The Southern Whigs, 1834-1854," *Essays in American History Dedicated to Frederick Jackson Turner*, pp. 203-29.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 209.

¹³ Washington, 1913.

¹⁴ Cole, pp. 2-30.

interests," he says, "linked in political alliance with the few southerners whose interests and inclinations led to the support of latitudinarian principles, a still larger faction made up of those who supported constitutional doctrines on the opposite extreme and whose logical interests seemed to point against such an affiliation."¹⁵

An analysis, however, of the record of the Twenty-second Congress (1831-1833) leads to somewhat different conclusions. It was this Congress which dealt with the tariff, nullification, and national bank questions, and it was during this Congress that the groundwork for the Whig party was laid. Of the ninety southerners in the House of Representatives, sixty-nine had been elected as supporters of Andrew Jackson, while twenty-one, nearly a fourth, were National Republicans. Of the sixty-nine Democrats, twenty-five were subsequently active in the Whig party. Eighteen of the latter were state rights Whigs, while seven were not identified with the state rights wing of the opposition. These twenty-five men then, together with the twenty-one National Republicans, may be regarded as representative of the groups which formed the Whig party in the South.¹⁶

These incipient Whigs voted twenty-four to twenty-one in favor of the tariff of 1832, a measure denounced by state rights men and nullified by South Carolina.¹⁷ They also voted twenty-four to nineteen for the Force Bill, which was designed to throttle the nullifiers.¹⁸ This backing of administration measures was hardly a portent of an opposition state rights party. The real harbinger of Whiggery was the vote on the national bank bill, which this group supported twenty-seven to seventeen.¹⁹

The Whig party actually took shape during the Twenty-third Congress (1833-1835), in which it gained the allegiance of fifty-two of the ninety-nine southern members of the House. They voted twenty-nine to sixteen in favor of rechartering the national bank²⁰ and unanimously in favor of restoring the government deposits to Biddle's institution.²¹ By a closer vote of twenty-two to twenty they supported repairing and extending the Cumberland Road.²² In the Twenty-fourth Congress (1835-1837) the forty-eight Whig

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2. E. Malcolm Carroll, in his scholarly *Origins of the Whig Party* (Durham, N. C., 1925), pays almost no attention to the southern states and follows Cole where southern developments have to be mentioned. In his one general statement about the southern Whigs, he takes the position that they were men of property, who turned instinctively to an association with northerners of similarly conservative interests. *Ibid.*, pp. 190-91.

¹⁶ See note 10 above.

¹⁷ *House Journal*, 22 Congress, 1 session, pp. 1023-24.

¹⁸ *House Journal*, 22 Cong., 2 scss., pp. 453-54.

¹⁹ *Register of Debates*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., p. 3852.

²⁰ *House Journal*, 23 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 483-85.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 485-86.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 758-59.

Representatives from the South divided thirty-eight to three in favor of Clay's bill to distribute the proceeds from sales of public lands to the states.²³ Other votes showing similar tendencies might be cited, but enough has been said to suggest that, even in the beginning, a majority of southern anti-Jackson men were far from being state rights doctrinaires.

In the light of this record it is not so surprising that only a handful of southern Whigs followed Calhoun when he marched his supporters back into the Democratic household during Van Buren's administration.²⁴ The record also prepares one for the increasing manifestations of nationalism among southern Whigs which Phillips and Cole found so difficult to explain.²⁵ The southern wing of the party backed Clay almost unanimously for the Presidential nomination in 1840.²⁶ Tyler's nomination for Vice President was more a sop to the disappointed Clay men, of whom Tyler was one, than a concession to the state rights proclivities of southern Whiggery, the reason usually given for his choice.²⁷

The nature of southern Whiggery had its real test when Tyler challenged

²³ *House Journal*, 24 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1023-24.

²⁴ Senator William C. Preston and Representative Waddy Thompson of South Carolina refused to leave the Whig party with Calhoun, and three other Representatives from the state took the Conservative, or anti-Subtreasury, position. Outside his own state Calhoun carried with him only seven members of Congress: Dixon H. Lewis of Alabama; Edward J. Black, Walter T. Colquitt, and Mark A. Cooper, of Georgia (in 1839-40); Samuel T. Sawyer and Charles Shepard of North Carolina; and Robert M. T. Hunter of Virginia (in 1839-41). The Georgia apostates were defeated for the next Congress by the regular Whigs, who made a clean sweep of the congressional elections under the general ticket system. In North Carolina Sawyer was displaced by a loyal Whig at the next election, and Shepard met the same fate two years later. In the Presidential election of 1840 the southern Whigs, far from being weakened, had a majority of 58,675, as compared with 243 four years earlier. See Murray, *Whig Party in Georgia*, pp. 90-95; Hamilton, *Party Politics in North Carolina*, pp. 55, 79; Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, pp. 165-203.

²⁵ Phillips, "The Southern Whigs," *loc. cit.*, pp. 216-17; Cole, *Whig Party in the South*, pp. 65-89.

²⁶ Cole, pp. 53-54.

²⁷ George R. Poage, *Henry Clay and the Whig Party* (Chapel Hill, 1936), pp. 13, 34-35. Tyler's most recent biographer, Oliver P. Chitwood, maintains that "Tyler was given the second place on the ticket mainly because he was from the South and had been a strong advocate of States' rights," or, in another passage, that "he was put up partly to placate the Clay faction but mainly to satisfy the States' right element of the Whig party." Chitwood bases this position on the ground that it "is the explanation usually given." *John Tyler, Champion of the Old South* (New York, 1939), pp. 172, 194. In taking this position, Chitwood has to discount completely Henry A. Wise's story of an arrangement with Clay leaders in 1839, whereby Tyler was to withdraw as a competitor with W. C. Rives for the Senate but was to receive the Vice Presidential nomination. Chitwood is probably correct in denying that Tyler himself had any part in such an understanding, but he fails to explain why Tyler was expected to be Clay's running mate before the convention met and why the Clay men were so confident of their ability to control Tyler just after he succeeded Harrison. *Ibid.*, pp. 172-73, 210, 215. Chitwood also finds it necessary to try to disprove persistent reports that Tyler intimated during the campaign that he was friendly to a national bank. It cannot be denied that his campaign statements were highly equivocal. *Ibid.*, pp. 188-94, 171-77. On one occasion Tyler endorsed Harrison's contention that "There is not in the Constitution any express grant of power for such purpose [a national bank], and it could never be constitutional to exercise the power, save in the event the power granted to Congress could not be carried into effect without resorting to such an institution." *Ibid.*, p. 190.

Clay for leadership of the party. Of the fifty-five southern Whigs in the lower house of the Twenty-seventh Congress (1841-1843), only three stuck by the Virginia President and his state rights principles, whereas Mangum of North Carolina presided over the caucus which read Tyler out of the party, and southern Whig editors joined in castigating him unmercifully.²⁸ Southern Whigs supported Clay's legislative program—repeal of the Subtreasury, a national bank, distribution, and tariff—by large majorities.²⁹ Even the Georgians, Berrien, Toombs, and Stephens, defended the protective features of the tariff of 1842.³⁰

Having said so much to the point that the Whig party in the South did not begin as and did not become a state rights party, it is necessary to add that neither was it consciously nationalistic. State rights versus nationalism simply was not the main issue in southern politics in this period. It is readily apparent from the newspapers and correspondence of the time that, except for Calhoun and his single-minded little band, politicians in the South were fighting over the same questions that were agitating the North—mainly questions of banking and financial policy.

It is hard to exaggerate the importance of the banking question. State and federal governments, by their policy in this sphere, could cause inflation or deflation, make capital easy or difficult to obtain, and facilitate or hinder the marketing of staple crops and commercial activity generally. And by chartering or refusing to charter banks, they could afford or deny to the capitalists of the day the most profitable field of activity the economy offered.

The banking issue is the key to an understanding of southern as well as northern Whiggery. Merchants and bankers were most directly concerned in financial policy, but their community of interest generally included the other business and professional men of the towns, especially the lawyers, who got most of their fees from merchants, and the newspaper editors, who were dependent on the merchants for advertising revenues. The crucial point for southern politics, however, is that the large staple producers were also closely identified economically with the urban commercial groups.³¹ These were the principal elements which went into the Whig party.

²⁸ Cole, pp. 92-93.

²⁹ Southern Whigs in the House voted forty-four to four in favor of Clay's original bank bill. *House Journal*, 27 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 409-10. They supported the tariff of 1842 by a vote of twenty-nine to eleven. *House Journal*, 27 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 1440-41.

³⁰ Murray, *Whig Party in Georgia*, p. 109; Rudolph Von Abele, *Alexander H. Stephens* (New York, 1946), pp. 86-87.

³¹ Ralph C. H. Catterall, *The Second Bank of the United States* (Chicago, 1903), pp. 140-44; Thomas P. Abernethy, "The Early Development of Commerce and Banking in Tennessee," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIV (1927), 316-19; Thomas P. Govan, "Banking and the Credit System in Georgia, 1810-1860," *Journal of Southern History*, IV (1938), 164, 178-84.

The Whigs generally defended the national bank until its doom was sealed, then advocated a liberal chartering of commercial banks by the states, and finally, after the Panic of 1837, demanded a new national bank. The Democrats fought Biddle's institution and either favored state-operated banks to provide small loans for farmers, as distinguished from commercial banks, or tried to regulate banking strictly or abolish it altogether.³²

Much of the misunderstanding about the Whig party in the South may be traced to the technique of plotting election returns on maps. Such maps tell us much, but they may also mislead. They show, for example, that the "black belts" of the lower South were the great centers of Whig strength. This has led scholars to reason: (1) that the Whig party was a planters' party *par excellence*, (2) that planters were necessarily rigid state rights men, and (3) that the Whig party was, therefore, a state rights party. *Q. E. D.!*

What the maps do not illustrate, however, is the dynamics of the political situation—the elements of leadership, impetus, financing, and propaganda, which are the real sinews of a political organization. In the case of the Whig party, these elements were furnished mainly by the commercial groups of the cities and towns, with their allied lawyers and editors. Lawyers were the practicing politicians for both parties, but the greater incidence of lawyers among the Whigs is an indication of the commercial affiliations of the party. Seventy-four per cent of the southern Whigs who sat in Congress from 1833 to 1843 are identified as practicing attorneys, as compared with fifty-five per cent of the Democrats.³³ In the lower house of the Tennessee legislature of 1839, farmers predominated, but a fourth of the Whigs were lawyers, as compared with only a tenth of the Democratic membership.³⁴

The size and importance of the urban middle class in the Old South has yet to be fully appreciated. As early as 1831, Nashville, for example, contained twenty-two wholesale houses and seventy-seven retail stores, not to

³² Charles H. Ambler, *Thomas Ritchie: A Study in Virginia Politics* (Richmond, 1913), pp. 176-78; Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, pp. 237-39; George T. Starnes, *Sixty Years of Branch Banking in Virginia* (New York, 1931), pp. 71-103; William K. Boyd, *The Federal Period, 1783-1860*, Vol. II of *History of North Carolina* (Chicago, 1919), pp. 274-75; Norton, *Democratic Party in North Carolina*, pp. 54-59, 188-92; Hamilton, *Party Politics in North Carolina*, pp. 80, 88; Govan, "Banking in Georgia," *loc. cit.*, pp. 164-84; Jack, *Sectionalism in Alabama*, pp. 61-63; William O. Scroggs, "Pioneer Banking in Alabama," in *Facts and Factors in Economic History: Articles by Former Students of Edwin Francis Gay* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), pp. 421-23; Abernethy, "Banking in Tennessee," *loc. cit.*, 321-24; Eugene I. McCormac, *James K. Polk: A Political Biography* (Berkeley, 1922), pp. 88, 169-70, 190; Shugg, *Class Struggle in Louisiana*, pp. 134-38.

³³ Based on vocational identification in *Biographical Congressional Directory*.

³⁴ Vocational identification from "List of Members of the House of Representatives of the Tennessee Legislature," broadside (Nashville, 1839). Party affiliations from a memorandum by James K. Polk in the Polk Papers (Library of Congress), First Series, placed at end of November, 1839.

mention numerous other businesses, such as the sixty taverns and tippling houses.³⁵ Even the little county seat town of Gallatin, Tennessee, boasted in 1840 ten mercantile firms, a grocer, a merchant tailor, three hotels, five lawyers, five doctors, a paper and grist mill, and eighteen artisans' establishments of one kind or another.³⁶

Businessmen dominated the towns socially, economically, and politically, and the towns dominated the countryside.³⁷ This was particularly true of the "black belts" of the lower South, since the great cotton capitalists of this region were especially dependent on commercial and credit facilities for financing and carrying on their extensive planting operations.³⁸ In recognition of the urban influence on politics, congressional districts were commonly known by the names of the principal towns in each—as, for example, the Huntsville, Florence, Tuscaloosa, Montgomery, and Mobile districts in Alabama.

Other evidence points in the same direction. A large majority of the stockholders in Virginia banks in 1837 lived in the areas of heaviest Whig voting. The principal commercial towns of the state—Richmond, Petersburg, and Norfolk—gave unbroken Whig majorities throughout the period 1834–1840.³⁹ In North Carolina twenty of the twenty-one directors of the two principal banks in 1840 were Whigs.⁴⁰ The first Whig governor of North Carolina was a railroad president; the second was a lawyer, cotton manufacturer, and railroad president; and the third was one of the wealthiest lawyers in the state.⁴¹

Similar party leadership obtained elsewhere. In Virginia, younger men of the type of John Minor Botts of Richmond and Alexander H. H. Stuart of Staunton actually directed the party of which Tyler and Tazewell were nominal leaders. Senators George A. Waggaman and Judah P. Benjamin were typical of the New Orleans lawyers who guided Louisiana Whiggery. Poindexter and Prentiss in Mississippi were intimately associated both per-

³⁵ Nashville *Republican and State Gazette*, Oct. 20, 1831.

³⁶ Gallatin *Republican Sentinel*, Jan. 28, 1840.

³⁷ Lewis E. Atherton, *The Southern Country Store, 1800–1860* (Baton Rouge, 1949), especially pp. 191–92. This study is of great significance in indicating the importance of commercial interests and of even the smaller interior merchant in the life of the ante-bellum South. Atherton does not deal with the political activities of merchants in this volume, but in a similar study for Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa, he found the merchants active in politics. Seventy per cent of a sample for whom political affiliation could be determined were Whigs. *The Pioneer Merchant in Middle America*, University of Missouri Studies, XIV (1939), No. 2, pp. 23–26.

³⁸ Clanton W. Williams, "Early Ante-Bellum Montgomery: A Black-Belt Constituency," *Journal of Southern History*, VII (1941), 510–11, 515; Shugg, *Class Struggle in Louisiana*, p. 138; Stephenson, *Alexander Porter*, pp. 33–35; J. Carlyle Sitterson, "Financing and Marketing the Sugar Crop of the Old South," *Journal of Southern History*, X (1944), 188–99.

³⁹ Simms, *Whigs in Virginia*, pp. 13, 167–92.

⁴⁰ Boyd, *Federal Period*, p. 274.

⁴¹ Hamilton, *Party Politics in North Carolina*, pp. 36, 57, 92–94.

sonally and financially with the bankers and businessmen of Natchez. The Tennessee Whigs were led by John Bell, Nashville lawyer and iron manufacturer, who had married into the state's leading mercantile and banking house; Ephraim H. Foster, bank director and Nashville's most prominent commercial lawyer; and Hugh Lawson White, Knoxville lawyer, judge, and bank president.⁴²

This commercial bias of the Whig party did much to pave the way for the industrial development of the South after the Civil War. It was no accident that former Whigs provided a large part of the leadership for the business-minded Conservative-Democratic parties which "redeemed" the South from Republican rule and then proceeded to make the conquered section over in the image of the victorious North, often in the interest of northern capital.⁴³

Commercial considerations and the banking question did not, of course, determine political alignments in the Old South by themselves. Pro-tariff sentiment made for Whiggery among the sugar planters of Louisiana, the hemp growers of Kentucky, and the salt and iron manufacturers of western Virginia and Maryland. The more liberal policy of the Whigs toward internal improvements by both the state and federal governments won them support in landlocked interior sections and along the routes of projected transportation projects. And the fact that the Democrats generally championed a broadened suffrage, apportionment of congressional and legislative seats on the basis of white population, and other measures for extending political democracy, inclined propertied and conservative men to rally to the Whig party as a bulwark against mobocracy.

These factors, however, merely reinforced the commercial nature of southern Whiggery. The business orientation of the Whigs and the relative unimportance of their state rights wing become quite apparent if the party is described as it actually developed in the various states, rather than on the basis of general assumptions about southern politics.

⁴² Lawyers provided much of the leadership for the Democratic party also, but they tended to be from the smaller towns rather than the big commercial centers—as, for example, James K. Polk, Cave Johnson, and Aaron V. Brown, in Tennessee. There were also a goodly number of "Democrats by trade"—men like James K. Polk's merchant-banker-mail contractor brother-in-law, James Walker—who were active in Democratic politics for personal profit. The top Whig leadership, however, contained few men of the decidedly noncommercial backgrounds of such Democrats as Andrew Johnson, the Greenville tailor; Bedford Brown, the upcountry small planter who inherited Nathaniel Macon's mantle in North Carolina; Richard M. Johnson, the ebullient Tecumseh-slayer, who continued to wait on customers in his Great Crossings inn while Vice President of the United States; David Hubbard, the self-educated carpenter who championed the poor whites of northern Alabama; Franklin E. Plummer, the picturesque loco-foco from the piney woods of eastern Mississippi; and General Solomon W. Downs, who led the "Red River Democracy" of northern Louisiana in the fights for suffrage extension and bank reform. Davy Crockett was, of course, the exception among the Whigs that proved the rule.

⁴³ C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, 1951), pp. 1-50.

A state by state analysis would indicate that, in the four border slave states and Louisiana, Whiggery was simply National Republicanism continued under a new name. The National Republicans were also strong in Virginia, but here they were joined in opposition to the Democrats by a body of state rights men alienated from Jackson by his attitude toward nullification. The National Republican and commercial wing of the party, however, was the dominant one, especially after the business-minded Conservative Democrats joined the Whigs on the Subtreasury question.⁴⁴ In North Carolina and Tennessee, the Whig party was formed by the secession of pro-Bank men from the Democratic party, aided in Tennessee by the local popularity of Hugh Lawson White as a Presidential candidate in 1835-1836.⁴⁵

The state rights element was more conspicuous in the four remaining states of the lower South. But it was by no means the majority wing of the Whig party in all of them. Both Alabama and Mississippi had an original nucleus of pro-Clay, anti-Jackson men, and in both states the nullification episode caused a substantial defection from the Jackson ranks. In Mississippi, however, a greater defection followed the removal of government deposits from the national bank. The state rights men were clearly a minority of the opposition party, which elected an outspoken foe of nullification to the

⁴⁴ Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, pp. 219-50, especially p. 222; Simms, *Whigs in Virginia*, *passim*.

⁴⁵ Boyd, *Federal Period*, pp. 181-84; Burton A. Konkle, *John Motley Morehead* (Philadelphia, 1922), p. 127; Lawrence F. London, "George Edmund Badger in the United States Senate, 1846-1849," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XV (1938), 2-3; Powell Moore, "The Political Background of the Revolt against Jackson in Tennessee," *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, No. 4 (1932), 45-66; Thomas P. Abernethy, "The Origin of the Whig Party in Tennessee," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII (1927), 504-22; Joseph H. Parks, *John Bell* (Baton Rouge, 1950), pp. 58-133. The difficulty historians have had understanding why the North Carolina planters perversely remained in the Democratic party arises from the initial error of regarding the Whig party as primarily a planter group. The basic explanation is that the Old Republican planters of North Carolina, unlike the agricultural capitalists of the lower South, were antagonistic toward the commercial-financial group, rather than identified with it. With a smaller investment in land and slaves than his Mississippi counterpart, with little chance to make large profits by further investment, and relying less on a single cash crop, the average North Carolina planter was much less dependent on the town merchant and banker. For some years before the Jackson era, the planters had been resisting demands for banks and internal improvements, while simultaneously trying to stem the tide of democratic discontent with planter rule. It was the union of these two anti-planter forces, commercial and democratic, which produced the Whig party in 1833-1835. Businessmen controlled the new party, but they retained popular support by championing constitutional reform and by progressive legislation in the fields of internal improvements and public education. There is no adequate account of the North Carolina Whigs in print. The situation in Virginia was somewhat similar, in that a majority of the planters, Phillips and Cole to the contrary notwithstanding, remained Democrats. In the period 1833-1843, the twelve congressional districts of plantation Virginia, lying east of the Blue Ridge and south of the Rappahannock, were represented thirty-eight times by Democrats and twenty-two times by Whigs or Conservatives, with nine of the Whig elections being won in the commercial Norfolk, Richmond, and Fredericksburg districts. The Democratic party of Virginia differed from that of North Carolina, however, in having a much larger popular element.

governorship in 1835 and sent the ardent Clay partisan, Seargent S. Prentiss, to Congress two years later.⁴⁶

The state rights defection seems to have been more important in Alabama, where it was led by the able Dixon H. Lewis. The Lewis faction, however, maintained only a tenuous connection with the regular Whigs, and in 1837 Lewis and his supporters followed Calhoun back into the Democratic party. The significant fact is that in neither Alabama nor Mississippi were the Whigs greatly weakened by the departure of Calhoun's admirers.⁴⁷

Only in South Carolina and Georgia did avowed state rights men make up the bulk of the anti-Jackson party. When the real nature of the new party alignments became apparent, the politicians of Calhoun's state gave proof of their sincerity (and of the Presidential aspirations of their chief) by moving back to the Democratic ranks at the first decent opportunity.

The principal Whig leader in Georgia was John M. Berrien, a Savannah lawyer and attorney for the United States Bank who had been forced out of Jackson's cabinet by the Peggy Eaton affair. At the time of the election of 1832, Jackson's Indian policy was so popular in Georgia that Berrien did not dare oppose the President openly. Instead, he went about stirring up anti-tariff and state rights sentiment, while secretly trying to prevent anti-Bank resolutions by the legislature. Immediately after Jackson's re-election, however, Berrien and his allies managed to reorganize the old Troup political faction as an openly anti-Jackson state rights party. In view of Berrien's pro-Bank attitude and his subsequent staunch support of Clay's policies, it seems probable that he was merely capitalizing on state rights sentiment to defeat Democratic measures which he opposed on other grounds. At any rate, the Georgia Whigs were soon arrayed against the Jackson financial program, and they held their lines nearly intact in the face of the desertion of state rights Whigs to the Democrats on the Subtreasury issue. By 1840 Berrien had brought his Georgia followers into close harmony with the national party.⁴⁸

This summary sketch of southern Whiggery raises, of course, more ques-

⁴⁶ Hearon, "Nullification in Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, pp. 37-77; Winston, "Mississippi Whigs and the Tariff," *loc. cit.*, pp. 505-24; James E. Winston, "The Mississippi Whigs and the Annexation of Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIX (1926), pp. 161-80; Ranck, *Alfred G. Brown*, pp. 4-15; Dallas C. Dickey, *Seargent S. Prentiss: Whig Orator of the Old South* (Baton Rouge, 1945), pp. 45-266.

⁴⁷ Jack, *Sectionalism in Alabama*, pp. 21-85.

⁴⁸ Thomas P. Govan, "John M. Berrien and the Administration of Andrew Jackson," *Journal of Southern History*, V (1939), pp. 447-67; Phillips, "Georgia and State Rights," *loc. cit.*, pp. 113-50; Murray, *Whig Party in Georgia*, *passim*. Despite the defection of three congressmen to the Democrats on the Subtreasury issue, the Georgia Whigs won the subsequent congressional election and carried the Presidential election of 1840 by three times their majority in 1836.

tions than it could possibly answer definitively. It has attempted to suggest, however, that preoccupation with the origins and development of southern sectionalism has led to distortions of southern political history in the 1830's and 1840's. Specifically, it is suggested:

That only John C. Calhoun and a small group of allied southern leaders regarded state rights as the most important issue in politics in this period.

That the southern people divided politically in these years over much the same questions as northern voters, particularly questions of banking and financial policy.

That the Whig party in the South was built around a nucleus of National Republicans and state rights men, but received its greatest accession of strength from business-minded Democrats who deserted Jackson on the Bank issue.

That the Whig party in the South was controlled by urban commercial and banking interests, supported by a majority of the planters, who were economically dependent on banking and commercial facilities. And finally,

That this alliance of the propertied, far from being inherently particularistic, rapidly shook off its state rights adherents and by 1841 was almost solidly in support of the nationalistic policies of Henry Clay.

There is a great need for intensive restudy of southern politics in the 1830's and 1840's, and particularly for critical correlation of local and national developments. The story as it comes from the contemporary sources is full of the resounding clash of solid interests and opposing ideologies, hardly having "the hollow sound of a stage duel with tin swords" which one historian seems to detect.⁴⁹ And recent events should make the student wary of state rights banners, especially when raised by conservative men against national administrations not conspicuously devoted to the interests of the propertied.

Princeton University

⁴⁹ Sydnor, *Development of Southern Sectionalism*, p. 316.

★ ★ ★ ★ *Reviews of Books* ★ ★ ★ ★

General History

THE SCIENTIFIC ADVENTURE: ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE. By *Herbert Dingle*, Professor of History and Philosophy of Science, University College, London. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1953. Pp. ix, 372. \$6.00.)

THE author of the volume is an astrophysicist and writer on the philosophy of science who was appointed a few years ago to the chair of history and philosophy of science at University College, London. He has brought together here a number of essays, some of which are historical and others philosophical. They are almost all devoted to critical appraisals of science from a philosophical point of view illuminated by the history of science, and in this sense they are not original contributions to the history of science as such.

Professor Dingle presents the thesis that the historian-philosopher of science can become a "scientific critic" and exert the same useful influence on the development of science that the literary critic supposedly exerts on creative writing. Literature, we are told, "in its naked simplicity has no intrinsic standards" and "was thus led by necessity to become self-critical." But "science *has* intrinsic standards. A scientific statement must, directly or indirectly, express experience and be subject to the test of experience." And so, says Professor Dingle, "A critical effort within science . . . can direct the movement itself, so that blind alleys are avoided and the path of progress illuminated; and, still more important for the world as a whole, it can make science self-conscious and aware of the significance of what it is doing in relation to other human activities." The critical reader will not be fully convinced that men trained in the philosophy and history of science will be able to exert so positive an influence on the scientific enterprise as a whole, even though it is possible that individual practicing scientists may become more critical if they are grounded in philosophy and know some history of science.

The historical essays deal chiefly with the rise of modern astronomy and physics, the work of Galileo, Copernicus, and Thomas Wright, theories of the origin of the universe, astronomy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, physics in the eighteenth. These interpretive essays illustrate the doctrine that science should be characterized "by the element in it that persists and grows, and not by that which continually changes." Thus the periods of scientific activity studied by Professor Dingle are not presented as chronicles of the successions of ideas, discoveries, and theories but as fragments of "a continuously developing system of thought" in which each idea, discovery, and theory is a "signpost, serving mainly to mark out the track of development." These essays are bright and well

written and unusually informative, but they are somewhat marred by the belief common to scientists that a little more than 300 years ago, "Galileo originated the process in philosophy which, in its maturer form, we now call science." Such a statement ignores a major body of research in the history of science which, especially in recent decades, has seen notable additions which completely destroy whatever validity it might have had to a previous generation. Professor Dingle's insistence that science began with Galileo indicates more than a disregard of historical research; for it implies a somewhat restricted definition of science which weakens his general thesis that science must be conceived in terms of persistent growing elements.

Harvard University

I. BERNARD COHEN

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES: INSTRUCTIONS AND DESPATCHES, 1816-1861. In two volumes. Edited with Introduction and Notes by *Howard R. Marraro*. (New York: S. F. Vanni. 1951, 1952. Pp. xiv, 683; xxi, 781. \$35.00.)

THE appearance of these two volumes as the first of a series of documentary publications on Italo-American diplomatic and consular relations serves as an introduction to what promises to be an undertaking of the first magnitude in the study of American and Italian diplomatic history. Volume I contains the hitherto unpublished correspondence between the State Department and its envoys to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies beginning with the appointment of William Pinkney in 1816 and closing with the appointment of Edward Joy Morris in 1850. Volume II includes the correspondence beginning with Morris' tenure in Naples and terminates in 1861 with the closing of the American legation following the incorporation of the Bourbon kingdom into the kingdom of Italy. The volumes also contain the unpublished official communications between the Neapolitan legation in the United States and the State Department and other correspondence exchanged between the American representatives and the ministers of foreign affairs and lesser officials of the Two Sicilies.

The instructions and dispatches passed between the State Department and our envoys on mission to Naples, 1816-32, center on the tortuous negotiations surrounding the indemnity claims advanced by Americans for losses suffered at the hands of the Murattian Regime, i.e., compensation for loss of ships and cargoes confiscated in the period 1809-12. Satisfactory resolution of the issue in 1832 resulted in payments to the United States of about two million dollars and led the American government to seek an immediate broadening of mutually beneficial relations with the Two Sicilies. Years of negotiation were concluded in 1845 with the signing of a treaty between the two states governing, for example, commerce, navigation, customs, trade discriminations, and privileges of citizens. Increased

trade between the two countries in the mid-century decade multiplied the complexity of the problems and necessitated mutually acceptable regulations governing the new conditions. A wide-ranging convention was signed in 1856 covering various aspects of the problems of navigation, commerce, and extradition. The terms of this convention were later incorporated, in part, in the agreement signed with the kingdom of Italy in 1871. From the communications exchanged between the Neapolitan representatives in the United States and the State Department, it is possible to assemble considerable data on the pattern of trade with the United States and the difficulties encountered by foreigners, and to catch occasional glimpses of the contemporary American scene as reflected in the observations of these envoys. In the immense documentation contained in these volumes is to be found an important facet of the development of American foreign policy during a period of the republic's most vigorous growth. The pattern of policy emerging from the needs of American industry and commerce for an ever-expanding world market is clearly revealed in these documents.

No less significant is the contribution made to the study of the history of nineteenth-century Italy. The recorded observations in all fields by the American delegations in the Two Sicilies during the peaceful as well as the critical periods of Italian history are an important source of information concerning the economic, social, and political conditions in the kingdom. More specifically, in view of the immense destruction suffered during the recent war by the Archivio di Stato in Naples, the repository of many of the files of the Bourbon government, this collection becomes an invaluable source for the study of the history of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

Consummate skill on the part of the editor and his staff is reflected in the inclusion of sufficient data, biographical and otherwise, to bring the documents and the dramatis personae to life without burdensome detail or distortion. The scholarly execution of the first phase of this enormous project launches the series most auspiciously.

University of Mississippi

GEORGE A. CARBONE

HOLMES-LASKI LETTERS: THE CORRESPONDENCE OF MR. JUSTICE HOLMES AND HAROLD J. LASKI, 1916-1935. In two volumes. Edited by *Mark DeWolfe Howe*. With a Foreword by Felix Frankfurter. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. xvi, 813; 817-1650. \$12.50.)

HAROLD LASKI (1893-1950): A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR. By *Kingsley Martin*. (New York: Viking Press. 1953. Pp. x, 278. \$4.00.)

HAROLD Laski's life is by way of becoming a myth. A youthful prodigy, he came to America in his early twenties, first to teach at Montreal, then at Harvard. When he appeared in New York he proved incredibly well read in the literature

of political science and legal history. No one in our time, probably in any time, could race through a book so rapidly and remember its salient contents so accurately. One day he borrowed Veblen's *Engineers and the Price System* from my desk and returned it in an hour. He had read it through, and had got more out of it than I could have got in a week.

And he was just as quick with tongue and pen as with eye. From adolescence he could confound the Elders in philosophical discussion, and he was always ready to meet anyone in political debate. Neither ideas nor words ever failed him. He wrote at least twenty books, all weighty, though perhaps falling short of high distinction. He wrote magazine and newspaper articles by the hundred. His letters, if collected, would fill a whole bookshelf. Of the fifteen hundred pages of text of the *Holmes-Laski Letters* at least nine hundred pages are Laski's. And though he always wrote in long hand and kept no record of his letters, you can't find in the huge volume of letters to Holmes a single instance of mere repetition.

Along with this tremendous literary activity he was a teacher, the most devoted and passionate teacher who had ever served the School of Economics of London University, or any other university. He loved his students and was ready to give them unlimited time, in groups or as individuals. He was so true a democrat that he would give as much time and attention to a stupid student as to a young genius. All students who came in touch with Harold loved him. His physical setup helped him here. With his scant hundred pounds, mostly brain and nerves, Harold seemed a boy, a youthful prodigy, to the end of his days, at fifty-seven.

Kingsley Martin's biography gives a sympathetic but judicious picture of Harold Laski, and offers an adequate account of Harold's doctrinal development and his rise to primacy as a theorist of the Labour party. At first a Liberal with leftist leanings, Harold's observation of the tough resistance of capitalism to democratic processes led him to espouse first intransigent socialism, then communism—not the communism of the cell-forming, boring-from-within type, but communism as an open and aboveboard political theory. Though the majority of the Labour party could not go along with Harold's extremism, his influence counted heavily with the party. No historian of the Labour party can afford to ignore the influence of Harold Laski on doctrine and tactics.

The *Holmes-Laski Letters* are an absorbing contribution to literature, but not susceptible of review. Justice Holmes and Laski stood at opposite poles in political conceptions, reactionary and revolutionary. They avoided discussion of political and economic topics. The most important part of the correspondence consists of comments on books, particularly in political science and jurisprudence. Taken together these comments make up the best appraised bibliography existing in the field. Next in importance are Laski's lively accounts of meetings with almost all English notables of his day. The letters of Holmes have besides the virtue of intimate revelation of many sides of one of the noblest figures in American history.

One who reads Martin and the *Letters* asks himself why with the extraordinary

talents and unflagging energy, the unexampled command of the literature of his field, the capacity to make intimate friends of the best minds in two continents, Laski still fell short of greatness. Certainly not for moral reasons. There was never a political scientist more honest, candid, more brave than Harold Laski. I have a simple explanation, probably wrong, like all things simple. Harold was too logical. And logic in affairs of politics and economics is a treacherous force, unless it plays over deeps of common experience, common feeling.

Laski arrived at definite conclusions as to the fate of capitalism. But capitalism is not and never has been a unified system that can be securely expressed in a definite concept. Moreover "capitalism" is undergoing constant change. The capitalism of the time of Marx was not the capitalism of England today, still less that of America. Communism in operation is only remotely kindred to communism in Harold Laski's theory. Harold never undertook to answer the question whether a communistic system can operate without coercion, whether in practice it can tolerate liberty, individual incentive, individual initiative; and if not, whether it can develop high productivity. His work remains, however, highly suggestive and stimulative of thought.

The New School

ALVIN JOHNSON

FROM LENIN TO MALENKOV: THE HISTORY OF WORLD COMMUNISM. By *Hugh Seton-Watson*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1953. Pp. xv, 377. \$6.00.)

As indicated by its title, Professor Hugh Seton-Watson's most recent book is a survey of world communism. In spite of the scarcity of information and the recency of communism as a world phenomenon, the number of publications dealing with the various features of the doctrine and practice of Marxism-Leninism is large and rapidly increasing, although few of them possess the solid virtues of scholarship or throw real light on the sinister movement that threatens to engulf the accepted values of the Western world. Mr. Seton-Watson is primarily concerned with two aspects of the vast field which he brings under scrutiny: the comparative analysis of the national communism movements and their "relationship . . . to social classes and the internal balance of political power in their respective countries." In his quest for an answer to the questions he raises, Mr. Seton-Watson offers a bird's-eye survey of the origin and evolution of communism in scores of countries in every part of the world—Europe, South and North America, Asia, Africa, the Pacific area, the Near East. The method of presentation of the huge amount of factual information drawn from a variety of sources "is neither chronological history nor contemporary political geography, but comparative historical analysis." Some of the communist movements (China, Yugoslavia) are dealt with at greater length; others are dismissed in a few brief paragraphs or even sentences.

The Soviet Union being the fountainhead of communism, Mr. Seton-Watson devotes about one fourth of his space to Soviet internal affairs without, however, adding anything new to what has been stated, at times with greater insight and persuasiveness, in innumerable books on the USSR.

The comparative method, needless to say, is legitimate and if used with discrimination and circumspection, may help to make intelligible otherwise obscure and puzzling situations. Its effectiveness, however, depends on the full and incisive description of the phenomena which are compared, thus bringing out clearly the elements of both similarity and difference. Paucity of information and, presumably, considerations of space make Mr. Seton-Watson often neglect this rule, with the result that some of the historical parallels he draws are neither obvious nor convincing.

Mr. Seton-Watson's sociological generalizations are less controversial. He rightly holds that the dominant factor in establishing communism in eastern Europe was "the conquering Russian army"; that "the communist cadres, though formed from several social classes, belong to none, . . . form a caste of professional revolutionaries, and stand outside class"; and that "the social causes of communism are frustration of the intelligentsia and poverty of the masses." He sounds a much needed warning against attaching excessive political value to economic aid to underdeveloped countries, and he ends his study with the heartening contention that "the western nations have sufficient military, diplomatic and economic resources to force Stalinism back and to accelerate its collapse, without war." Mr. Seton-Watson, however, disclaims any pretense at providing "ready-made solutions" to the issues raised by communism. "To push back, even by a few inches, the boundaries of ignorance and illusion is more useful than to pontificate about miraculous short cuts to salvation that do not exist," he writes. "Utopian optimism and defeatism are, to use a Stalinist phrase, 'equally harmful deviations.'"

Columbia University

MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1949-1950. By *Peter Calvocoressi*.

Assisted by *Sheila Harden*. With an Introduction by *Arnold Toynbee*. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. viii, 590. \$12.00.)

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1949-1950. Selected and

Edited by *Margaret Carlyle*. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. xxiii, 796. \$12.50.)

World War II not only disrupted international relationships; it interrupted also the labors of those who write up the minutes of world affairs. From 1940

until last year no volumes appeared in the Royal Institute's annual survey and document sequences. The present compilations are the second pair in the resumed postwar series, and like their immediate predecessors cover two years at a clip.

"During the years 1949-1950," says Arnold Toynbee in his introduction, "the conflict between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, which had come out into the open towards the end of 1946, continued to dominate world affairs." The very organization of the survey volume (which is paralleled by that of the documentary collection) reflects and emphasizes the rivalry of the two giants in both the European and Asian arenas. The story of conflict, of jockeying for position, of recruiting and organizing allies, occupies nine tenths of Mr. Calvocoressi's two-year account. His section on international co-operation takes only the last fifty pages.

No survey of international affairs in 1949 and 1950, of course, could be much different in approach and still be true to the facts of life. For Calvocoressi is not writing a "first draft of history" in Herbert Elliston's phrase. He is merely recording the details in systematic fashion, with almost no analysis or interpretation. At least positive attempts at interpretation are absent except in the chapter on European economic co-operation contributed by Professor Hawtrey. Economists, perhaps, cannot avoid comment on the meaning of the events they describe. At any rate this is the most satisfying part of the book.

A national minimum of subjectivity is inevitable, to be sure, even in the most sternly objective author. An American cannot avoid contrasting Calvocoressi's carefully balanced discussion of responsibility for the outbreak of war in Korea (conclusion: "... it is not possible to pronounce a final judgment, but ... the first act of aggression on 25 June 1950 was probably committed by the North Koreans. . . .") with his implicitly sympathetic treatment of British "anti-bandit operations" in Malaya.

The coverage of both subjects at any rate is almost painfully complete, as it is for events in most of the rest of the world. The present survey omits the Middle East, Latin America, the British Commonwealth, and some less important areas. Similarly, the documentary volume manages to include an astonishingly full budget of source material, much of it in the form of skillful extracts.

Washington, D.C.

THOMAS K. FORD

Ancient and Medieval History

THE ROOT OF EUROPE: STUDIES IN THE DIFFUSION OF GREEK CULTURE. By R. W. Moore, et al. Edited by Michael Huxley. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1952. Pp. xi, 112. \$3.00.)

GREEK culture has played a curious double role in history. On the one hand, it has led to the development of a sterile classicism, which looks to the past for

its ideals and tends to suppress initiative and originality. This point of view is in part responsible for the decline of the study of Greek and Latin. Recently a great Hellenist, Professor B. A. van Groningen (*In the Grip of the Past* [Leiden, 1953]) has pointed out that the Greeks themselves had much of this tendency to look back. Yet, at the same time, they were among the greatest innovators the world has seen, and the history of many fields of human activity is divided into two periods, before the Greeks and after the Greeks. It is this second aspect of their culture which causes great minds almost constantly to turn back to the Greeks, and it is this aspect which is the subject of the book under review.

The book is a delight to look upon, easy to read, and full of penetrating interpretations and information which will be new to most readers. The text proper fills 106 pages divided into ten chapters, but on these pages only about half the space is devoted to the text. There are seventeen maps and almost as many illustrations as pages, and the illustrations are extremely well chosen and reproduced excellently. The subtitle, however, is misleading. The little volume does not contain a series of studies in which new interpretations are demonstrated but a series of essays in which the distinguished authors often present the results of recent research by themselves or others but do so in an exceedingly compressed form and without proof or citation of evidence. Naturally this means that the material may have to be used with caution, particularly since the authors tend to emphasize the less well known aspects of their subjects. Moore and Sutherland, however, find little to say about ancient Greece and Rome which will be new to readers with even an elementary knowledge. Tarn, writing on "Macedon and the East," has almost as well-worn a subject, but there are few who will not be pleased to have a brief statement of his interpretation of Alexander and of the role played by the Greeks in India. There are even fewer who will fail to profit from Moore's emphasis on the place of science in the Renaissance or from the accounts by Runciman and Dvornik of Byzantium and her eastern and northern contacts. Since the central theme is the transmission of the Greek heritage to the West, Dvornik writes about Russia as a potential bridge when other communications had been broken, but this potentiality was ruined by the Mongols. Though the book is focused on the West, its greatest value lies in its information about the Near East. It can be read with profit by the general reader and by all students of history.

University of Chicago

J. A. O. LARSEN

GEOGRAPHICAL HISTORY IN GREEK LANDS. By *John L. Myres*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953. Pp. ix, 381, 12 plates. \$7.00.)

SIR John Myres has for many years concerned himself with the question, in what relation of cause or effect do Greek lands stand to the Greek people. The present volume collects twelve lectures and essays which Sir John wrote between

1910 and 1941 on the subject of the geographical history of Greece. The original lectures have been frequently supplemented from more recent sources.

The first chapter sets the pace by emphasizing Sir John's conviction that external environment has been much stronger than breed in making the Greek Man. The physical characteristics of the Aegean world are studied for their effect on Greek sociology and economy. The next three lectures describe with general philosophical concepts the value and place of geography in the study of history: "geography is the coequal sister-science of history" (p. 74). Chapter v contains statistics on the physical structure, climate, vegetation, temperature, and rainfall of the Mediterranean basin. The acmes of Minoan, Hellenic, Roman, and Renaissance cultures are studied in a geographical context; that of the Hellenic and Roman fall right in the middle of a period of grassland quiescence and more than average rainfall. Separate chapters are devoted to the area colonized by the Greeks in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., to the Marmara region (called by the Greeks Propontis), to the Aegean islands and to the Dodecanese. There are, moreover, chapters on Mediterranean population and on the history of the Greek kingdom of 1832-1941. Sir John posits that the rejection of the Adriatic by the Greeks is connected with water-circulation, copious precipitation, and bad storms; he shows that all holders of the Marmara region have lost it through their own faults.

This reviewer would heartily recommend to any traveler to the northeastern Mediterranean the three final chapters for their detailed description of the physical features and history down to the present day. Sir John is a historian with breadth of knowledge and keen thoughtful judgment which permit him to make critical comments on modern diplomacy in the Balkans. According to their knowledge and intelligence men make the history they deserve. It is ignorance and folly, rather than ill-will, which have made the Eastern question what it is today. Sir John illuminates diplomatic blunders of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including errors of London and Washington in 1944 (chapter ix, *passim*; p. 251).

The first Wykeham professor of ancient history at Oxford has been a pioneer in the application of geographical and archaeological criticism to historical problems. Some of what is here published has gone the way of all scaffolding. No student today, for example, needs to be informed that the Greek world was a melting pot of various divisions of the white race, in spite of the fact that the classical Greeks claimed they were of one race. This reviewer would question whether some of Myres's comments on industrial slavery are in accord with up-to-date research. Nonetheless, these lectures, now issued with a bibliography of his published works to mark his eighty-second birthday, constitute a stimulating contribution by a notable scholar.

University of California

W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT

THE MAKING OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By R. W. Southern, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1953. Pp. x, 280. \$4.00.)

THE title of Mr. Southern's book is rather misleading. Instead of being a broad, general account of the development of medieval ideas and institutions, it is a series of essays on certain phases of the subject. Nor is it a book for the uninitiated. Only the specialist who is a thorough master of the basic factual history of the period can enjoy and profit from Mr. Southern's exposition.

For this specialist, however, Mr. Southern has produced a book of rare value. He is gifted with unusual interpretative insight and decided skill in creating novel and imaginative generalizations. In each of his chapters he seeks to lay bare and explore the basic developments and in this he is usually extremely successful. Thus a truly masterly paragraph on page 108 goes to the very root of the medieval conception of freedom and no work that I know of so well sets Peter Lombard and Gratian in their rightful place in intellectual history.

Mr. Southern is at his best in dealing with the church and learning—the chapters entitled “The Ordering of the Christian Life” and “The Tradition of Thought” are magnificent. While “The Bonds of Society” contains some brilliant flashes of insight, one is left with the impression that Mr. Southern's learning in this sphere is less comprehensive and his touch less sure. He sees the important distinction between “high theory” and “low theory,” but he has little interest in actual practice. And it is almost impossible to describe social institutions adequately without a passing glance at their economic aspects. The last chapter, “From Epic to Romance,” is peculiarly disappointing. Although it contains fascinating analyses of certain aspects of the ideas of St. Anselm and St. Bernard of Clairvaux, the central theme of the chapter is unconvincing. The *Chanson de Roland* was not typical of the *chansons de geste* and generalizations based on it cannot be used in comparing the *chansons* with the romances.

The isolation and examination of the central themes of the history of his period is but one of the features of Mr. Southern's book. Although as a rule he does not bother with details and rarely brings facts to support his generalizations, here and there he fortifies his exposition with excursions into particular situations or incidents. These examples are without exception relevant, illuminating, and novel. Thus a perhaps rather exaggerated statement of the importance of marriage in feudal politics is embellished by a detailed examination of the relationships that interfered with the marriages of the bastard daughters of Henry I of England. The early feudal potentate is aptly illustrated by an account of the rise of the counts of Anjou with a careful map of the county and the possessions of the count. And the cheerful confusion between secular and spiritual office that did so much to inspire Pope Gregory VII and his fellow reformers is made concrete by the history of a cadet line of the counts of Barcelona. In addition

to these major excursions there are numerous brief biographies of significant figures and these too are chosen with imagination and sketched with skill and verve.

In a book of this sort there are bound to be statements that a reader will challenge and it seems useless to list those which aroused the doubts of this reviewer. All are to some extent at least matters of opinion and another reader would probably have an entirely different list. Finding things to disagree with will be one of the many pleasures that will reward the medievalist who reads this very stimulating book.

Johns Hopkins University

SIDNEY PAINTER

DU PREMIER CONCILE DU LATRAN À L'AVÈNEMENT D'INNOCENT III (1123-1198). Part II. By *Raymonde Foreville*, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Rennes, and *Jean Rousset de Pina*, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque de Tunis. [Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, Volume IX.] (Paris: Bloud & Gay. 1953. Pp. 388. 1,050 fr.)

THIS volume by Raymonde Foreville and Jean Rousset de Pina dealing as it does with the period from 1123 to 1198 forms a welcome addition, long awaited, to that series "L'histoire de l'Eglise" begun many years ago by Augustin Fliche. It is a volume filled with incident and one which contains admirably full bibliographical information as well. Among its particular excellences one should certainly list its careful narrative of the political and diplomatic development of the twelfth-century papacy from the time of Nicholas Breakspere to the pontificate of Innocent III. What emerges most clearly from this narrative is the importance of Alexander III as the precursor of the great popes of the thirteenth century and the originator of policies and points of view which were to be of great importance later. He is shown in these pages as the peer of Gregory VII and Urban II as an architect of papal power and greatness. We also find an admirable summary of the long struggle with Frederick Barbarossa, the troubles between popes and an unsubdued Roman commune, the quarrel between Becket and Henry II, and the intricate relations between papacy and Byzantine emperors and the various crowned heads of Europe.

This book is not a history of the church in the twelfth century. It deals almost exclusively with the papacy, and even here mainly with the political and diplomatic aspects. Despite a short section on the development of papal administration, the system whereby the popes of the period consolidated and organized the Western church and their own curia is only briefly and tantalizingly touched upon. Nor do we see as clearly as we would wish in the book's final chapters the story of the great reform movements, Cluniac, Cistercian, and Premonstratensian, which did so much to change medieval Christendom. Nor is the importance of heresy and the church's attitude toward it, particularly in the case of the Waldensians,

sufficiently stressed. And again, the crusading East is almost completely neglected though two important crusades, the second and the third, took place in this period, while the great development of universities, canon law, and theology is inadequately treated. Certainly the history of the medieval church in this period should not be considered from the papal point of view alone, as the authors of this otherwise admirable volume appear to do. The rise of papal power is one aspect of the medieval church and may even be its most important aspect, but it is certainly not the full story.

One might also in some fairness take issue with the particular bias displayed toward opponents of the papacy in these years. Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI, as far as their Italian policies are concerned, are presented always in the most unfavorable light, as is Henry II in his quarrel with Becket. Nothing is said, for instance, of the rather difficult aspects of Becket's own character and their effect upon his religious contemporaries. Nor is there a suggestion that the motives and ideals of the Hohenstaufens had anything to recommend them to the society of the period. A reading of Otto of Freising makes clear that the efforts of the imperial party were not as entirely selfish as the authors of this volume would have us believe.

In short, admirable as this volume is in many ways, the careful historian of the church will supplement it with fuller studies of the religious life of twelfth-century Europe.

University of Texas

A. R. LEWIS

Modern European History

L'EVOLUTION DE LA LETTRE DE CHANGE, XIV^e-XVIII^e SIÈCLES.

By *Raymond de Roover*. Foreword by Fernand Braudel. [Ecole pratique des hautes etudes, VI^e section. Affaires et gens d'affaires, IV.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1953. Pp. 240. 850 fr.)

SINCE the time of Brunner and Endemann (1877-1883) the history of bills of exchange and negotiable instruments has attracted the attention of jurists, theorists, moralists, and historians of commerce. The many phases of the subject have been explored at great length, one by one, commonly with some single class of source material. The present study draws together all these separate strands of development with documents from every class of material.

The author brings to the subject a wide knowledge of medieval and early modern business practice. The examination of large numbers of documents, discovered in his own work and by other scholars, enables him to trace the history of the notarial contracts and the later bills of exchange with a substantially continuous array of representative specimens, taken from several primary centers of international finance. There is, therefore, positive documentation for much

that has, in the past, rested upon inferences drawn from legal treatises and discussions on usury.

Exchange dealings were an important factor in the development of banking. The smaller private banks of deposit grew out of the activities of the petty money changers, who dealt in the coins of different towns or countries at a single center of trade. The large international banking houses were interested both in long-distance trade and in the exchanges between the major financial centers. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries exchange contracts were formal notarial documents. The development of holograph letters of payment, and the "bills" or "letters" of exchange, brought about some changes in business practice, but no major innovation occurred until the different forms of negotiable instruments emerged in the early sixteenth century. Documents drawn to bearer and endorsed bills began to circulate among merchants, but full legal protection of such transfers was achieved only after a struggle which lasted nearly a century and a half. The history of this critical period has never before been adequately documented.

Discounting, as we now know it, appeared first in England at the close of the seventeenth century. It won its way slowly on the Continent in the course of the eighteenth century. This frank recognition of interest was doubtless obstructed by the tenacity with which the theologians opposed all but the most restricted forms of gain from money lending. For many generations, canonist concepts could be used only in narrowly specified cases, though nearly all financial transactions of practical importance were finally brought within the scope of these "exceptions."

This book is an unusually fine example of historical synthesis. It combines full documentation with a comprehensive and balanced survey of all the aspects of a complex problem.

Harvard University

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER

THE MINT: A HISTORY OF THE LONDON MINT FROM A.D. 287 TO 1948. By Sir John Craig. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1953. Pp. xviii, 450. \$13.50.)

INTEREST in British coinage is recurrent and has displayed much activity of late. Within the short span of 1948-1950 appeared such presentations as Herbert A. Seaby's three brief treatments of silver, copper, and token coins minted 1066-1949, and George C. Brooke's lengthier account of coinage between the seventh century and the present day.

Sir John Craig long has been notable for intimate knowledge in this field. Entering the treasury in 1908, he became principal assistant secretary there in 1931, and from 1938 until he retired in 1949 he was deputy master and comptroller of the royal mint and *ex officio* engraver of the king's seals. Out of these forty-one years of service in the treasury and mint have come scholarly articles

in numismatic periodicals and his 1946 volume on the work of the notable warden and master of the mint, Sir Isaac Newton (see *AHR*, October, 1947, p. 156).

The constitution of the London mint, its products, processes, and more striking personalities comprise the field of this 1953 volume. Sir John has assembled a wealth of detail through exhaustive use of primary sources, consisting chiefly of the three manuscript collections of the royal mint library, contemporary with 1577-1621; the thirty-eight manuscript volumes in the same repository comprising the "Mint Record Books" of 1600-1842 (to varying degrees incomplete); the Newton "Mint Manuscripts"; the *Annual Mint Reports* available since 1870; and what are known as the "Calendars of Treasury Books and Treasury Papers." Also, much use has been made of articles in the *British Numismatic Journal* and the *Numismatic Chronicle*, reports of royal commissions and pertinent secondary works.

The cumulative effect is impressive. Sir John's encyclopedic knowledge is lightened by a lively awareness of the influence of conflicting personalities upon the course of mint events, which he can present with happy turn of phrase. Also, standardization of mint practice is a relative term, scarcely applicable through most of the centuries and more honored in the breach than the observance. This injects variety into this sector of history, here presented with a fullness most gratifying to numismatists.

The historian's interest in such a volume arises from the fact that monetary arrangements tend to reveal the state of the realm—the vagaries of fortune affecting a people and their rulers and the clerics who emit honest or fraudulent coins for diverse purposes. For example, England's situation was such that for five hundred years they minted but one denomination, the silver penny; they added, in the next four hundred, gold coins and denominations up to one pound and down to a farthing. In the reign of Edward I money was valuable, wages and prices cheap, and coins unnecessary for many transactions. But the expansion of overseas trade enlarged the stock of money to a degree unknown when volume of circulation depended more on loot, ransoms in war, royal dowries, and foreign subsidies.

In the seventeenth century copper tokens displaced silver for the two smallest coins; in the eighteenth, gold displaced silver as the fundamental measure, and, in the nineteenth, silver became a mere token currency. International relations came to such a pass early in the twentieth century that all coins became tokens, gold coinage ceased, and the chief medium of exchange became paper. Thus British coin has shared the tendency of coinage through the ages—a tendency to lose its intrinsic value through wear, endemic clipping, and the recurrent economic and political crises which move governments to cheapen the values of currencies. The social, political, and economic concomitants are the stuff of which history is made.

That part of history limited to activities within the London mint is here well

rounded, with the addition of sixteen pages of clear illustrations; four appendixes listing dates and amounts of coinage, seignorage, charges, and costs; a bibliography; an extraordinarily good analytical subject index; and an index of persons with their mint connections. In other words, here is one example of that *rara avis*, a "definitive" work which should remain standard for many a long year.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

THE TUDOR REVOLUTION IN GOVERNMENT: ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. By G. R. Elton. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1953. Pp. xiii, 466. \$8.50.)

THIS is a work of the first importance for students of Tudor history. Even readers who, like me, are not experts in the intricacies of administrative history can recognize that in Mr. Elton the early Tudor period at last has its Tout. This is not to derogate what other historians, including several Americans, have done on Tudor administration—among them A. F. Pollard, R. B. Merriman, Conyers Read, W. H. Dunham, Jr., E. R. Adair, F. C. Dietz, W. Gordon Zeeveld, and, most recently, W. C. Richardson, whose book appeared too late in England for Mr. Elton to take full cognizance of, but to which he has inserted generous references. Mr. Elton draws extensively on what his predecessors have done; when he differs from them he is firm, good-spirited, and never contentious. He has his own interpretation to present, he bases it on impressively industrious research, and he demonstrates it with overwhelming evidence and impeccable logic.

Mr. Elton uses more than 400 pages of closely reasoned historical analysis to state his case, but his main argument can be briefly put. He challenges both the traditional view that the new monarchy and the modern age began with the coming of the Tudor dynasty, and the contrary recent tendency to say that the Tudors adapted to their use what were essentially medieval institutions. The latter contention he holds to be true for Edward IV, Henry VII, and Henry VIII in the Wolsey period, for he sees in these decades no more than the household government of the Middle Ages conducted more efficiently than ever. What followed in the wake of the Reformation, however, was an administrative revolution for which Mr. Elton believes there was only one earlier parallel in English history, with the coming of the Normans, and one later, in the nineteenth century. The administrative revolution of the 1530's (continued in the next two decades) was the transformation of household into national bureaucratic government. The rapidly expanding functions of the national state made this revolution necessary, but it took administrative genius of a high order to accomplish it. This was provided by Thomas Cromwell, whose reputation Mr. Elton thoroughly and convincingly rehabilitates, though he leaves him an ambitious and autocratic man

who did not, perhaps for lack of time, fully carry through the reforms he inaugurated.

A far longer summary than the foregoing would be needed to convey what Mr. Elton has done to illuminate the new functioning of the main offices under the crown, of the agencies of finance, of the privy council, and of the king's household. His is a study which admittedly neglects local government, but no historian of any aspect of Tudor government can hereafter afford to ignore this historical reconstruction of the revolution in the central administration.

University of Rochester

WILLSON H. COATES

BRITISH LABOUR'S FOREIGN POLICY. By *Elaine Windrich*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 268. \$5.00.)

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE BRITISH LABOUR GOVERNMENT, 1945-1951. By *M. A. Fitzsimons*. [International Studies of the Committee on International Relations, University of Notre Dame.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1953. Pp. vi, 182. \$3.25.)

EACH of these studies presents an account of the foreign policy supported by the British Labour party up to the resignation of the last Labour government in 1951. They differ in arrangement, since Mr. Fitzsimons considers only the six years 1945-51, while Miss Windrich starts her narrative with the First World War. In their conclusions the two books are diametrically opposed.

Miss Windrich's theme is "the continuity of British Labour's international policy." She holds that the Labour party, whether in opposition or in office, has consistently advocated and adhered to certain principles in international affairs which constitute a clearly defined Labour or Socialist, as distinct from a Conservative or Liberal, foreign policy. Thus it has, she says, opposed the balance of power principle, secret diplomacy, alliances and ententes, militarism and imperialism; and has championed international co-operation, open diplomacy, self-determination of nations, arbitration, collective security, and the rule of law in international relations. This consistency has formed the basis of the rejection by the Labour party of a different kind of continuity, the bipartisan foreign policy, the traditional British doctrine of continuity in foreign affairs (pp. vii, 1, 258-59).

Mr. Fitzsimons is more inclined to criticize the foreign policy of the last Labour government, and he rejects altogether the contention that Labour developed a specifically Socialist foreign policy of its own and broke the tradition of continuity in the conduct of foreign affairs. He finds that Bevin's acceptance of continuity, of Churchillian and Conservative policy, was already manifest in August, 1945, that "in 1946 and 1947 the emptiness of a Socialist policy became clear in a multitude of writings and discussions" and that the "shallow irrespon-

sibility of Labour's thinking on foreign affairs" was dramatically revealed by Bevin's abandonment of Labour's position on Palestine (pp. 25, 51, 81). He speaks of "the uncreative role of Britain in balancing her world interests against the demands of geography and European Union" and of "Labour's lack of adroitness in foreign affairs" (pp. 111, 178). He quotes with approval Churchill's campaign claim in February, 1950, that Bevin "has followed with steadfastness the line I marked out at Fulton of fraternal association with the United States and the closest unification of our military arrangements" (p. 121). Mr. Fitzsimons believes that it is difficult to find a major issue of foreign policy on which Conservative and Labour leaders disagreed, and concludes: "The question of a Socialist foreign policy arose only to become absurd. The continuity of British foreign policy prevailed because British interests remained the same and the suspicion of state for state survived" (p. 179).

This flat disagreement is probably due in part to the fact that the two books are centered on slightly different periods. Mr. Fitzsimons, concerned only with the years the Labour party was in office, bases his opinions on the details of administrative action. Miss Windrich, dealing also with the years of opposition, inevitably lays more stress on the pronouncements of a party not at the moment entrusted with the responsibility of government, and some may feel that she takes these pronouncements too much at face value.

Beyond this, the two books differ greatly in their methods of presentation and discussion. Mr. Fitzsimons' study is shorter and slighter, based indeed on wide reading, but without the formidable display of factual research offered by Miss Windrich. His book is an interpretation or essay, and does not pretend to be definitive. Yet there can be no doubt that his approach is more critical, mature, and discerning and that his presentation, for the six years with which he deals, more balanced and complete. Miss Windrich's book, though it contains much useful information, is also vulnerable. Her account is unselective, almost pedestrian, and she is at her weakest in interpretation and analysis. She may also be justly criticized for the proportions of her book: she gives, for example, only twenty-two pages to the years 1945-50, and devotes twelve pages of this to British relations with Spain (the reprint of the substance of an earlier article), while treating in less detail matters of far greater moment. Her deliberate exclusion of Empire and Commonwealth questions, including Palestine, is the more to be regretted because a consideration of these might have modified her thesis. On the whole her book is an apologetic for the foreign policy of the Labour party: its attitudes are generally approved and its policies found to be generally successful within the limits of each situation. Undoubtedly many readers will feel that Miss Windrich might have done more justice to her thesis if she had devoted more critical attention to the arguments and evidence on the other side.

State University of Iowa

W. O. AYDELOTTE

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS: A HISTORY OF SWEDEN, 1611-1632. Volume I, 1611-1626. By *Michael Roberts*, Professor of History, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1953. Pp. xiv, 585. \$13.50.)

SOUTH African scholarship and Swedish history may seem a peculiar combination, but the blend is fortunate. Professor Roberts of Rhodes University has worked in Sweden, and although he has not utilized archival material he has mastered the printed sources and the most recent research publications. The book is frankly Swedish history. It is neither a biography of the Lion of the North, nor an episode in the history of Germany. Sweden is regarded as significant in her own right. The author begins his story in 1611 but has the historian's realization that the beginning has a background, hence there is careful treatment of relevant aspects of the sixteenth century. Sweden is the focus of attention, but Sweden is placed in her setting in Europe: for example, in relation to the Time of Troubles in Russia, to the persistent dynastic conflict with Sigismund of Poland, to the rivalry with Christian IV and the Danes, and to the whole bitter struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism. Just as 1611 is no sharp beginning, so 1632 is no abrupt ending, but the influences of the creative reign of Gustavus Adolphus are carried on into the reign of Christina, and occasional comparisons are dared with later periods.

"The key to the deliverance of German Protestantism is not to be found in the general course of European affairs, still less in the bloody confusion of Germany: it lies in the story of Sweden's recovery from the humiliation of 1613, in her stubborn struggle against encircling enemies, in the great constructive reforms which were the work of her King and ministers" (p. 1). This indicates content and theme of the first volume; a second volume will treat the economic and military phases of expanding Swedish power.

The biographical aspects are subordinated, yet Sweden was transformed during this period, and it was one man (or two) who accomplished it. The country was weak and threatened on all sides. Perhaps nowhere better than here has been told the tale of hardship, persistence, luck, and genius by which Sweden was first preserved, then remade. And as Gustavus Adolphus repelled the Danes, outmaneuvered Sigismund, and expanded the national boundaries across the Baltic he perceived the interweaving of his problems with the larger conflict on the Continent. This vision, peculiarly parallel to the concept of "defending America by aiding the allies," was soon to have fateful effects for Europe.

Despite the antagonism of the nobles toward the monarchy, deepened by the intolerant autocracy of Charles IX, the youthful Gustavus Adolphus fused the "spirit of the Vasas with the pretensions of the aristocracy, to the advantage of each" (p. 283). He and his gifted minister, Axel Oxenstierna, reconstructed

the judicial and the administrative machinery of the state. Out of poverty and chaos they brought a degree of efficiency. Both minister and king felt the need of educated civil servants, hence they strengthened the university at Upsala and reorganized education throughout the land; in the future, government would be less dependent on foreign experts. Stockholm became a real capital; the nobles began to move into town and to build magnificent palaces. To administration, education, the church, architecture, literature, and allied topics the author devotes approximately half of this volume; he tries to answer his own question, "What sort of a society bodied forth this race of resurgent Goths?" (p. 254).

Roberts' style is lucid and vigorous; his sectional summaries are often masterful. Characterizations are just and sometimes brutally frank: he refers to the "odious precocity" of the child Christina, and says that her mother, the queen, was "in many ways charming, though capricious and inclined to be extravagant; but she was not blessed with brains" (p. 181). Some will be pleased and some annoyed at the frequent quotations left in Latin or German. Many will wish for maps showing the character of the land and the routes of campaigns as well as the simple location of places. There is a good index and a 37-page bibliography. When the next volume completes and balances the story we will have an account in English which will give an improved understanding of Sweden, of Gustavus Adolphus, and of the Thirty Years' War.

Northwestern University

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

L'ÉGLISE CATHOLIQUE ET LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE. Volume I, LE PONTIFICAT DE PIE VI ET LA CRISE FRANÇAISE (1775-1799). Volume II, L'ÈRE NAPOLÉONNIENNE ET LA CRISE EUROPÉENNE (1800-1815). By *André Latreille*. (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1946, 1950. Pp. viii, 279; 292.)

SERIOUS study of the religious history of the Revolution began early in the Third Republic and received vigorous impetus from anticlerical battles. To pioneer works of Catholic scholars were added indispensable reinterpretations by "*jacobins universitaires*" like Aulard and Mathiez. Seventy-five years of research by learned ecclesiastics and professional historians make possible this excellent provisional synthesis. Heir of two scholarly traditions, André Latreille, known for solid monographs on the church under Napoleon, is Catholic *and* a university professor.

M. Latreille's factual detail is of high quality, based on prolonged research in French and Vatican archives and exhaustive study of published works. Many aspects of his subject remain highly contentious because of lack of information—much archival material remains unexploited and many specialized monographs need to be written—and because the embers of fierce politico-religious conflicts

still glow. The author deals with highly controversial questions without passion, but not without conviction. He states problems carefully, evaluates divergent views, and then gives his own opinions (where present knowledge permits) with moderation and the necessary nuances.

Clear and vigorous prose, skillful characterizations, mature and original ideas, lively and occasionally humorous asides contribute to the reader's understanding and enjoyment. Regrettably footnotes and bibliography are banished to the end of the second volume; there is no index. The work concentrates largely on the religious crisis within France but broader European implications are not neglected.

The book is directed to the general reader. Although most of the material is familiar to the specialist, the latter will read the work with interest and profit. The author has meditated upon his information, presents it with new insight, and illuminates it with original details from his personal research (e.g., Maury's German mission and Cacaault's influence upon Franco-Roman relations). He asks the questions which interest contemporary historians and his answers (with those of Leflon and Dansette) may reflect a tendency of Catholic scholars to view the Revolution more sympathetically than their predecessors.

Latreille finds the origins of the Revolution in a "*crise de conscience*" and rejects "*la fable du complot maçonnique*." The Civil Constitution of the Clergy he declares unacceptable for Catholics. Though not always fair to *assermentés* or to moderates like Emery, he attributes dechristianization to the Girondins and is surprisingly sympathetic to Robespierre. M. Latreille accepts Aulard's interpretation of the Terror and concedes that it "made more hypocrites than martyrs." The separation of church and state was unworkable he believes. He rejects Guyot's rehabilitation of the Directory but has no illusions regarding Bonaparte's motives. Though his confessional frame of reference is apparent, non-Catholics will find much to accept in his conclusions.

Among the book's shortcomings the most serious are those of omission. Occasionally awkward facts, such as secret papal condemnation of the Rights of Man two months before debate started on the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, and the law of 11 Prairial an III restoring the churches to Catholic worship, are passed over in silence. The account of dechristianization is inadequate, partly because it leaves so much unsaid. Finally, important terms such as "*laïcisation*" (applied here to policies as diverse as those of the Constituents, Bonaparte and anticlerical Republicans) are not defined.

Notes and bibliographies reflect the material circumstances which deprive French scholars of recent foreign publications. One misses the pertinent works of Palmer, Brinton, and other Americans; of Veit and Valjavek and other Germans and of Italians such as Roberti and Rota (Latreille used Franchetti, superseded in 1939 by Rota in the *Storia d'Italia*).

Nevertheless, despite these insignificant flaws, M. Latreille's breadth of view,

erudition, originality, and literary skill have enabled him to make an outstanding contribution to scholarship.

University of Florida

DAVID L. DOWD

OPERE. By *Francesco Guicciardini*. Edited by *Vittorio de Caprariis*. [La Letteratura italiana, Storia e testi, Volume 30.] (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore. 1953. Pp. xvii, 1092. L. 5,000.)

THIS edition of Francesco Guicciardini's selected works is part of a series which, when completed, will comprise seventy-five volumes and will form an entire "library" of Italian writers. This series is a careful and scholarly enterprise, and the selection and editing of the single volumes are being entrusted to the best authorities. Vittorio de Caprariis, the editor of the present volume, is the author of one of the most original and stimulating recent studies on Guicciardini (see *AHR*, LVII [January 1952], 436-38). The brief introduction with which he opens the volume under discussion is a model of what such an introduction should be. It gives an account of the factual events of Guicciardini's life together with an analysis of the stages of his intellectual development. This is followed by a very useful, up-to-date bibliography.

The writings—whether complete or in excerpt form—are very well chosen. All the various aspects of Guicciardini's literary activity—writings about the events of his own life or the history of his family, political projects and discussions, his various histories—are represented. The book succeeds in presenting a well-rounded picture both of Guicciardini as a literary figure and of his personality.

Yet it must be said that the usefulness of this edition for the American historian is limited. Though the volume runs to over 1,000 pages, it cannot give more than excerpts of Guicciardini's longer works, and since we hardly ever read Guicciardini as literature but approach him with research purposes, the scholar will have to go back to the older, complete editions. But this edition has two features which even the scholar will find useful. First it gives the *Ricordi* fully and in the final textual form which Spongano has recently established and which deviates considerably from the text of the earlier editions. In the second place, the excerpts from the *Storia d'Italia* are particularly extensive; they cover almost two thirds of the book and make it possible to get a real impression of the work. Because the complete *Storia d'Italia* is so long that even the scholarly reader is frightened away, the existence of this long, carefully chosen, but manageable selection is most valuable; in discussing Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia* in courses on the Renaissance or on historiography there will no longer be any excuse for falling back on the pale and frequently misleading characterizations of the work which the histories of historical writing contain.

Bryn Mawr College

FELIX GILBERT

I DOCUMENTI DIPLOMATICI ITALIANI. Terza Serie: 1896-1907. Volume I (10 marzo 1896-30 aprile 1897). Ottava Serie: 1935-1939. Volume XIII (12 agosto-3 settembre 1939). (Rome: Ministero degli Affari esteri, Commissione per la pubblicazione dei documenti diplomatici. 1953. Pp. xxxviii, 356; liii, 501.)

THE general plan of publication of some one hundred volumes of Italian diplomatic documents extending over the years 1861-1943 was described in the review of the first two volumes to appear (*AHR*, October, 1953, p. 101). The appearance of the pair now under review brings the total thus far published to four.

Of the various archives from which the documents have been drawn for Volume XIII, the cabinet archives proved to be the most valuable, because the Fascist tendency toward concentration, especially after 1927, meant that all important problems were referred to it. Fortunately, the cabinet archives were found to be substantially intact after the war, though a small section of them had been transferred just before the armistice to the safekeeping of the Italian legation in Lisbon. This included originals of the Hitler-Mussolini and Percy Loraine-Ciano correspondence during the months of July and August, 1939, and the dispatches on relations with Germany from Salzburg to the outbreak of war in September. The present volume could hardly have been undertaken without this material, which was returned to Italy (and is now in the Archivio storico del Ministero degli Affari esteri), after being in Anglo-American hands (in accordance with the armistice terms) long enough to be photographed. In view of the importance of the cabinet archives, they have been reproduced almost in their entirety for the period covered in the present volume. According to the editor, only documents of no historical interest have been omitted.

It is interesting that for the period in question there are very few outgoing telegrams of any political interest. This is not because they have been lost or omitted, but is rather a reflection of the absence during the period of any political initiative in Rome.

The interest in the volume lies rather in the revealing incoming reports from Italian representatives abroad. The editor, Mario Toscano, has already published an analysis of the work of two of these, the ambassadors in Berlin and Moscow, which shows that Ciano had little justification for his claim to have been taken by surprise by the events of August and September (*Italia e gli accordi tedesco-sovietici dell'agosto 1939* [Florence, 1952]). The German ambassador in Moscow, Von Schulenburg, whose staff enabled the American embassy to keep Washington advised of the development of the Russo-German negotiations, kept his Italian colleague fully informed, so that the information he sent to Rome, much fuller than that which his colleague in Berlin was able to get from Ribbentrop, afforded all the warning necessary. Mussolini, how-

ever, dared not take the risk which a break with Hitler would have meant for the stability of his own regime. It is worth noting in this connection, that the editor had the assistance of the former Italian ambassador in Moscow, August Rosso, in the preparation of the present volume.

The three Green Books on 1896-97 dealt, as color books do, with the Greco-Turkish conflict over Crete and with the Italian position in Eritrea and Ethiopia, but other international questions, of wider significance, have until now remained undocumented on the Italian side. The disaster at Adua (March 1, 1896) brought an end to the government of Crispi as well as to his African adventure. The cabinet of Di Rudini, which came into office on March 10, had in accordance with the 1891 terms of the Triple Alliance, to determine in May whether or not to continue it. Italy's refusal to recognize the *casus foederis* in the event of a conflict with England and France, and Germany's refusal to take cognizance of Di Rudini's declaration, mark 1896 as a turning point in Italian foreign relations, even though the Alliance was maintained. Ties with England were strengthened, and when Visconti Venosta became foreign minister in July, it was a sign that relations with France would also improve. He succeeded in settling the Tunisian question which had been the occasion for Italy's entry into the Triple Alliance in the first place. It should be noted that the editors have used, in addition to the foreign ministry and central state archives, the papers belonging to the families of Onorato Caetani, duke of Sermoneta, who was foreign minister from March until July, and of Visconti Venosta, who then took office.

University of California

GORDON GRIFFITHS

DIE DEUTSCHE SELBSTVERWALTUNG IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT:
GESCHICHTE DER IDEEN UND INSTITUTIONEN. By *Heinrich
Heftter*. (Stuttgart: K. F. Koehler Verlag. 1950. Pp. 803. DM 40.)

THIS book is indispensable for any serious student of modern Germany. It provides an administrative and constitutional history of the success and failure in the attempts to introduce self-government into that country from the eighteenth century to the end of the Weimar Republic. The author has conceived of his subject in broad terms and has included a discussion of the history of the pertinent ideas, the laws and decrees, the institutions, the social and political setting, and the important personalities concerned with the reforms. He compares the developments in Germany with those in other countries, especially Great Britain and France, but also Belgium and Austria-Hungary, and occasionally some of the other countries including even the United States. He has worked through a vast amount of material on one of the most complicated subjects in history, and he proves to be a wise and judicious guide, with a profundity of insight and a calm, matter-of-fact style that wins the confidence of the reader.

The highly detailed analysis leads to precise conclusions, fundamental in significance and simply stated. The book must be studied with care, but the reward will be an understanding of the workings of German society which no political history or intellectual history is capable of giving. Social relations, the role of ideas, the significance of certain occupations, especially those of the professor and of the bureaucrat, are among many topics which receive illuminating treatment in connection with the author's main problem. "And finally," writes the author in the preface, "through the realism of its over-all view, it [the book] aims, apart from offering new single insights, to straighten out many wrong connections, to correct many stubborn prejudices."

In contrast with most of his predecessors the author knows that self-government lacks an enduring structure as long as parliamentary government is not introduced. He shows that having failed to gain that kind of government the Germans developed a theory to justify and glorify beyond all competitors the Bismarckian type of authoritarian regime. A constitutional-monarchical government without parliamentary control but with a considerable degree of self-administration in the local political districts (towns, counties, provinces) came to be considered the finest form of rule that man had to show; and the professors took the lead in fixing this nationalistic halo upon Germania's head. The author destroys this legend, and in doing so he offers to professorial intellectuals, whether German or otherwise, a lesson in humility. Since Germany did not complete the edifice of self-government on the national level, the author devotes most attention to the reforms in local administration and to the introduction of administrative courts. He covers the government of the village, the county, the town and city, the administrative district, the province in Prussia and their equivalents in the other states, and he is particularly thorough in his analysis of the reform efforts in the Stein-Hardenberg period and in the first years of the Bismarckian Reich.

The book was manifestly written for a German reading public. The author wishes to aid in bringing his country back into the line of western constitutional development by showing where and how it strayed. He takes for granted the knowledge of a good deal which a foreign reader may lack. For this reviewer's taste the author devotes an undue amount of space to *Ideengeschichte*. In spite of his admirable cutting of von Gneist to proper size, he is still following the unfortunate academic practice of overrating the historical significance of the professorial republic. Some of the space which he devotes to Pfizer, Dahlmann, von Mohl, von Gneist, and the like might well have been used to describe fully the conditions which these reformers were trying to correct and to explain the amazing persistence of the governmental control exercised by the forces of the Old Regime. A systematic analysis of the committee reports and the debates in the Landtags and the Reichstag on the reform bills would have helped the reader to comprehend the complete situation, the status quo as well as the desired changes. The crucial position of the Hohenzollerns deserves as much consideration as that of von Bennigsen or Miquel.

If some young American scholar would adapt this book to the needs of our public, he would be performing a service for us all. This is the kind of history that enables us to compare the course of one country with that of another and to draw worthwhile conclusions about our respective fates.

University of Nebraska

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

QUAND BISMARCK DOMINAIT L'EUROPE. By *Jacques Bardoux*. (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1953. Pp. 325. 750 fr.)

WITH all the new material on the background and history of World War II, not much is being written these days about the origins of the first Great War. Now M. Bardoux, with a long list of works on English history and contemporary affairs to his credit, has embarked upon a three-volume study of "*Les origines de la Guerre de Trente Ans*" (1914-1945), which he finds largely in the diplomatic history of the age of Bismarck. The first volume, *Les origines du malheur européen—l'aide anglo-française à la domination prussienne* (1863-1875), was published in 1948; *Quand Bismarck dominait l'Europe* (1875-1882)—the volume discussed here—is the second; and the third, *La défaite de Bismarck—l'empire française et l'alliance russe* (1882-1893), is to appear shortly.

Bardoux's work is not, however, an attempt to synthesize all previous work upon the subject; his method, indeed, is to pass over the vast number of existing monographs and secondary works, and to write chiefly from the *Documents diplomatiques français, 1871-1914* and the *Grosse Politik der europäischen Kabinette* (in the French translation *La politique extérieure de l'Allemagne, 1870-1914*). The result is most satisfactory, both in interpretation and in style. The origins of this second "Thirty Years' War," Bardoux points out, go back to the opening of Bismarck's chancellorship, to his creation of a Prussianized Germany, at the expense of a vanquished Austria and a mutilated France; and *Quand Bismarck dominait l'Europe* is devoted chiefly to an excellent account of the very intricate diplomacy of Germany, England, and France between 1875 and 1882, while Bismarck sought anxiously to prevent any revision of the settlement of 1871. In addition, Bardoux gives some attention to the foreign policy of Austria and Russia and Italy, and also includes perceptive analyses of the character of some of the great individual figures in the diplomacy of the period.

His idea of quoting extensively from the documents themselves comes off very well; it gives one a sense of realism and of closeness to the inner workings of international relations that even the best diplomatic histories seldom achieve. The passages Bardoux cites are always interesting: for instance, the conflicting accounts (placed side by side) of Disraeli, Salisbury, and Münster, the German ambassador at London, of their conversations in 1879 concerning a possible Anglo-German alliance, and the evidence indicating that Austria's repeated refusal to sign even a defensive alliance with Germany against France was

motivated not alone (as is often said) by an unwillingness to antagonize England but by fear of Hungarian reaction and by a recognition that the Habsburg Empire's military weakness would make any two-front war a most dangerous affair for Austria. All this ought to have been a warning to Bismarck in 1879 that perhaps he was choosing the wrong ally after all, as William I insisted, since Austria was from the start unable to promise him support against Germany's principal potential enemy.

At one point, though, Bardoux regrettably omits part of an important document he quotes from—the German dispatch to Vienna of May 5, 1882, in which Bismarck objected to England's participation in the secret Triple Alliance, on the ground that Dilke, in particular, might reveal its contents to France, but then added significantly: "*L'idée de déclarer la guerre à l'Angleterre est certainement bien éloignée de l'esprit d'aucun des contractants, car aucun d'eux ne pourrait s'y essayer avec succès; si c'est l'Angleterre qui déclare le guerre, alors on n'a pas la choix.*" (*La pol. ext. de l'Allemagne*, III, 257-58.)

To Schweinitz, the German ambassador at St. Petersburg, Bismarck telegraphed on February 5, 1884: "*Tant que je serai ministre il n'y aura pas d'agression de l'Allemagne contre la France. Je me retirais, si je recevais l'ordre d'un acte de violence aussi dépourvu de motifs*" (p. 318). This was Bismarck, the conservative statesman, speaking. The fact remains that France never would accept the settlement he had imposed upon her in 1871, and—as Bardoux makes amply clear—no amount of conservative statesmanship could preserve Germany from its ultimate consequences.

Institute for Advanced Study

FRANCIS L. LOEWENHEIM

MONARCHISM IN THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC. By *Walter H. Kaufmann*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1953. Pp. 305. \$4.00.)

THE Weimar Republic was never wholeheartedly accepted by any considerable part of the German people. Its breakdown, to a large extent, must be explained by this fact. The author of the book under review attempts to make a contribution to the study of this problem with his "pragmatic study of monarchism as a political factor" and "by concentrating on the most powerful opposing force with which the democratic republic in Germany was confronted" (p. 7). He has divided his book into two parts: "Monarchism as Opposition against the Republic, 1918-1923" and "Monarchism as Opposition in the Republic, 1924-1933."

Yet, according to Dr. Kaufmann, monarchism had become "obsolete" by the late twenties (p. 195), and plans for a restoration, e.g. Brüning's in 1932, were conceived as a dam against the totalitarian Right and would have been feasible only with the support of the parties of the Left (pp. 205, 285 f.). The question must be raised, therefore, what the author understands by monarchism and its function in the Weimar period. He denies that the monarchic idea in Germany

can be clearly defined (p. 11). In chapter 3, "Nonparliamentary Monarchism," he lumps together such diverse problems as the various manifestations of Bavarian royalism, the Kapp Putsch, the attitude of the Reichswehr, the Free Corps, citizens' protective leagues, and secret organizations. In chapter 7 he discusses the split, in 1929-30, of the German National People's party into various factions in which "the cause of monarchism . . . was completely eclipsed" (p. 194). Thus it is clear that in Dr. Kaufmann's treatment monarchism is almost synonymous with any opposition to the Weimar Republic on the part of the Right.

This lack of differentiation is evidently responsible for the author's approach to his subject, primarily an account of the origin and development of the parties of the Right, of their platforms, election campaigns, and tactics outside and within the Reichstag. He has assembled a large body of useful information which offers mostly a picture of surface phenomena. He does not come to grips with the problems underneath and has not felt the need to interpret his facts. (For a thoughtful comment on the problem of monarchism in Germany see the epilogue by W. Conze, pp. 179 ff., in Kuno Graf von Westarp, *Das Ende der Monarchie am 9. November 1918* [Stollhamm (Oldb.), 1952].) Significantly, a title like A. Mohler's *Konservative Revolution in Deutschland, 1918-1932* (Stuttgart, 1950) is not listed in the appended bibliography. The modest attempt at interpretation in the last chapter is insufficient and not free from clichés. Finally, the book would have profited from thorough editing, for it abounds in Germanisms. The rendering of German *Volkspartei* as "Populists" is unfortunate. "Populists" has become a technical term with definite sociological connotations reserved for the American party of the 1890's.

New York, N.Y.

EDITH G. H. LENEL

FRANZ VON PAPEN MEMOIRS. Translated by *Brian Connell*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1953. Pp. 634. \$6.50.)

ONE afternoon at the beginning of June, 1932, the editors of the major German newspapers (this writer among them) were called to the chancellery in the Wilhelmstrasse. A smiling, vaguely charming gentleman presented himself to them as the new chief of the government. He tried to alleviate their evident fears by some pleasant generalities, but his courteous behavior and his patriotic phrases were not sufficient to overcome their sense of impending disaster. Many of them went home feeling that none of Bismarck's successors had been so clearly unsuited for the job as was this new chancellor, Franz von Papen, and they tried in vain to figure out why Hindenburg had ousted Brüning, his trusted lieutenant, and replaced him by this well-groomed but undistinguished minor politician. Soon their fears were surpassed by the events of his administration.

Within a few months, Papen proved his inability to manage the increasingly complex domestic situation; the backing by the president did not make up for

the lack of support by major political parties. Much has been written about the Papen regime in the last twenty-one years by people who were then in the center of affairs, for instance Arnold Brecht, Otto Meissner, Count Lutz Schwerin von Krosigk, and Carl Severing; but Papen now throws some new light on the background of his appointment which certainly was one of the greatest misfortunes in the whole history of the Weimar Republic. According to him, General Kurt von Schleicher was primarily responsible for Brüning's downfall and his own ascendancy: "He took me for an opportunist, which is what he was in essence himself, and I misunderstood his character in return, assuming that his political ideas were based on fundamental principles" (p. 245). Schleicher suggested his name to Hindenburg as a suitable successor to Brüning; Papen, until then, was not intimately known to the aged president, but he soon succeeded in establishing cordial rapport with him. Naturally, Hindenburg and Schleicher occupy very important places in his *Memoirs*. While he has never ceased to admire the former, it is evident from many passages that his friendship with the latter had turned soon into competition for power and, finally into animosity, if not open hatred. Only this strained relationship with Schleicher can somehow explain Papen's co-operation in bringing about a cabinet headed by Hitler; for obvious reasons, he tries now to minimize this part of his sinister backstage activities.

Papen's memoirs, written rather persuasively by an indomitable old man in quest of self-justification and translated with precision, deserve a careful reading by students of twentieth-century history. They are important not only because of the official positions he held at crucial moments but also because they offer sidelights about his own personality, his friends, and the shallow conservatism of his social class. Here and there also, some unknown details about the Hitler regime, especially its beginning and its collapse, are revealed. But no statement of Papen's can be accepted without considerable caution, because he is trying so desperately to clean his record. From his 600 pages of clever pleading he emerges as a man not lacking in personal courage but devoid of sound judgment and those other qualities which make the difference between a reckless political gambler and a constructive statesman.

Bard College

FELIX E. HIRSCH

PAN-SLAVISM: ITS HISTORY AND IDEOLOGY. By *Hans Kohn*. [International Studies of the Committee on International Relations, University of Notre Dame.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1953. Pp. ix, 356. \$6.25.)

PROFESSOR Kohn rightly regards nationalism as "the preponderant factor in modern history," and of the numerous important contributions he has made to its study the present work is the crown. For with his Prague background,

his knowledge of eastern as well as western European languages, his perseverance in research and flair for synthesis, he has here produced, in very readable English, a kind of classic on the history of Pan-Slavism. It supersedes the hitherto standard work (in German) of Alfred Fischel, which was published in 1919. It is more broadly based on original sources, better organized, more critical, and, in view of contemporary developments in eastern Europe, far more illuminating. It casts light no less helpful to statesmen and publicists than to scholars.

How ironical the story of Pan-Slavism and of the several Slavic nationalisms which have exploited or subverted it! The story, as Professor Kohn tells it, is in three well-documented chapters. In the first, covering the years from 1815 to 1860, Pan-Slavism emerges among West Slavs, primarily among Czechs and Slovaks, as a linguistic and cultural movement, reflecting the romanticism and liberalism of the age; it reaches high tide in the Prague Congress of 1848, then ebbs with the failure of the liberal revolution of that year in Austria, and is seemingly lost amid conflicting currents of nationalism of the various Slav peoples. In the second chapter, from 1860 to 1905, quite a different Pan-Slavism is espoused by reactionary Russians—the Slavophiles—as a means of saving other Slavs from Western “corruption” and attaching them to Holy Russia’s tsardom and religious orthodoxy; it is urged at the Moscow Congress of 1867, but is unacceptable to the imperialistic tsarist regime and is opposed by Russian Westernizers and rejected by both West and South Slavs.

In the third chapter, from 1905 to 1950, Pan-Slavism reappears in two successive and highly contrasting stages. The first, as charted in the Prague Congress of 1908, aims at economic and cultural collaboration of Slavic peoples “free and equal among themselves”; it ends at the close of World War I with disruption of Russian, Austrian, and Ottoman empires and erection of independent national states for West and South Slavs. The second, resulting from Russian victory in World War II and officially proclaimed at the Belgrade Congress of 1946, marks a grim realization of the earlier Slavophile dream, with all Slavic nations subjected to Moscow, and with an enforced orthodoxy now Communist, however, instead of Christian. Yet this new monolithic Pan-Slavism is soon cracked by the wedge of separatist Yugoslav nationalism. Which illustrates anew the stellar historic role of particularistic nationalism and indicates that just as it has broken up the Ottoman and Habsburg empires so it is likely to be the major factor in dissolving the Russian communist empire and destroying its brand of Pan-Slavism.

In Professor Kohn’s volume, nationalism of the various Slavic peoples appropriately receives as much attention as Pan-Slavism, and it is vitalized by lively sketches of the careers, and revealing extracts from the writings, of its chief proponents. Particularly noteworthy are the accounts of Palacký, Bakunin, Pogodin, Danilevsky, and Masaryk, and of Marx’s anti-Russian and anti-Slav bias. Incidentally, Professor Kohn draws from his nineteenth-century sources

many a statement of curiously prophetic interest such as that of Ernest Coerduroy shortly after the revolution of 1848: "The next revolution in Europe will be accomplished by violence, by centralization, by Russia. . . . Britain will evacuate India, and this will be the signal for the invasion of Asia by Russia and America. Endless revolutions will stir and shake the whole East, especially China, and the two invading opponents will try to influence the outcome."

On a few minor points, I venture to disagree with Professor Kohn. He distinguishes too sharply, I think, between the nationalism of western Europe ("the work of statesmen and political leaders") and that of central and eastern Europe (the work of "the poet, the philologist, and the historian"). He blames Peter the Great for ignoring "the European spirit of liberty," which was rather out of style in the age of Louis XIV and the Great Elector. He attributes to Bismarck the destruction, "in their last vestiges," of the Holy Alliance and the treaties of 1835, and the leadership, at the Congress of Berlin, in depriving Russia of Constantinople; he seems to forget that Russia by the treaty of San Stefano had already agreed to leave Constantinople to the Turks and that a cardinal principle of Bismarck's foreign policy throughout his chancellorship was the maintenance of close ties with both Russia and Austria.

It is regrettable that the publisher has insisted on transferring the invaluable footnotes from the pages where they belong to some eighty pages at the rear of the book, on the assumption, doubtless, that every reader is a sleight-of-hand artist. The many typos can be readily corrected.

For this eminently scholarly and timely volume, thanks are due to Professor Kohn and likewise to Professor Waldemar Gurian and his Committee on International Relations at the University of Notre Dame, under whose sponsorship it was undertaken and has been so successfully completed.

Afton, New York

CARLTON J. H. HAYES

UKRAINE UNDER THE SOVIETS. By *Clarence A. Manning*, Associate Professor of Slavic Languages, Columbia. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1953. Pp. 223. \$3.50.)

SOVIET IMPERIALISM: ITS ORIGINS AND TACTICS. A SYMPOSIUM. Edited by *Waldemar Gurian*. (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1953. Pp. vii, 166. \$3.75.)

THESE two slender volumes are important contributions to the growing debate regarding the record and nature of Soviet Russian imperialism. This debate has concerned itself primarily with the question of the extent to which Soviet imperialism has been conditioned by its tsarist heritage and is motivated by traditional Russian national interests.

Professor Manning's general survey of communist rule in Ukraine is based on a number of serious special studies which were prepared by Ukrainian refugee scholars of recognized competence. It is a useful volume especially for the reader who has but a limited acquaintance with Ukraine or with the substance as distinct from the verbiage of Soviet nationality policy. In a large number of brief chapters Professor Manning skillfully traces the major changes which have occurred in Ukraine since the revolutionary period and concludes with several chapters on wartime and postwar developments. While the volume's brevity and lack of documentation and several serious typographical errors may be slightly discomforting to the reader, it should be recognized that this is a basically sound introductory study which deals with an incredibly complex series of important but neglected events in the history of the Soviet Union.

The volume on Soviet imperialism is the result of a symposium which was sponsored by the Notre Dame Committee on International Relations and reflects several very different schools of historical interpretation. Professor Nicholas Timasheff attempts to distinguish between Russian imperialism and Soviet aggression and condones the former on the grounds that other nations, such as the Spanish and Portuguese, created empires. He argues with limited effectiveness that the territorial acquisitions of imperial Russia were "reasonable" and that the Soviet excesses can be attributed to "Marxism." Yet in approving of the Soviet recovery of "lost territories" Timasheff unwittingly equates the two different imperialisms.

A different position is taken by Dr. Michael Pap in his very able survey of Russo-Ukrainian relations in which he contends that Soviet communism and Russian imperialism have become inseparable. A somewhat similar view is presented by Dr. Wiktor Weintraub of Harvard's Slavic Department in his revealing study of Soviet cultural imperialism in Poland. Ling Nai-Jui, formerly of the Chinese diplomatic service, contends that there has been a continuity between imperial Russian and Soviet policy toward China.

Professor Frederick C. Barghoorn and Dr. Richard Pipes deal with various aspects of the Soviet nationality problem. Dr. Pipes contrasts the status of the Moslems under the imperial regime with their present position under Soviet rule in what is essentially a valid analysis. Professor Barghoorn examines the image of Russia in Soviet propaganda and the addition of Russian national and military traditions to the Kremlin's arsenal of tactical propaganda weapons. His treatment of the thorny question of relations between Russians and non-Russians is balanced.

Professor Gurian, in his introductory essay, points out that the symposium does not provide any single answer and that the inclusion of alternative interpretations has been deliberate. This is a provocative volume. One is tempted to ask whether the real difference between traditional Russian expansionism and Soviet imperialism may not lie in the fact that the latter has been more effective, more ruthless and at the same time more deceptive than was the former although at

times just as heavy-handed. However, it is essentially the same old game, but it is being played for the very highest stakes.

Princeton University

JOHN S. RESHETAR, JR.

Far Eastern History

LA FÉODALITÉ CHINOISE. By Marcel Granet. [Institutet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning. Serie A: Forelesninger, XXII.] (Oslo: H. Aschehoug; distrib. by Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. 219.)

THIS volume comprises the first half of a projected work, based on a series of lectures delivered in 1936, which remained unfinished when Granet died in 1940. Not only feudalism but also many aspects of social, political, and economic life in ancient China are discussed. Unfortunately, despite the controversial nature of many assertions, there is very little documentation.

The treatment of feudalism is handicapped by the manner in which sources are employed. On page 41 Granet states that the *Shu Ching* (without any distinction of its various portions) apparently "*n'est pas postérieur au VIII^e siècle av. J. C.*" This is, to put it as mildly as possible, grossly careless. Granet utilizes the *Yao Tien* of the *Shu Ching* as a document of this date, although it has long been suspected by scholars, and one eminent Chinese critic has shown evidence for believing that it reached its present form as late as the second century B.C. (See *Ku Shih Pien* [in Chinese], VII, edited by Lü Ssü-mien and T'ung Shu-yeh [Shanghai, 1941], Pt. 1, pp. 210-11, and Pt. 3, pp. 97-99; H. G. Creel, *Studies in Early Chinese Culture* [Baltimore, 1937], pp. 97-98.) On the basis of materials most of which are relatively late, Granet fashions a picture of Chinese feudalism that often bears more resemblance to the romanticized conceptions of late Chou and Han scholars than to what appears to have been the historic reality.

Granet discusses Chinese feudalism only from the eighth to the third centuries B.C., a time when it was already decadent, and declares that "*nous n'avons aucun moyen de déterminer les origines historiques de l'Ordre féodal qui règne en Chine à partir du VIII^e siècle avant notre ère*" (p. 51). Most scholars, however, find much light, if not necessarily total illumination, in the events which followed the Chou conquest some three centuries earlier.

Rich materials for the early history and for a deeper understanding of Chou feudalism exist. Probably the best single category of documents is the bronze inscriptions; they are never, to the best of this reviewer's recollection, even mentioned in this volume. An adequate history of Chinese feudalism has yet to be written.

University of Chicago

H. G. CREEL

THE CHINA TANGLE: THE AMERICAN EFFORT IN CHINA FROM PEARL HARBOR TO THE MARSHALL MISSION. By *Herbert Feis*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1953. Pp. x, 445. \$6.00.)

THIS is a brilliant and absorbing dissection of the tangle of misconceptions, cross-purposes, frustrations, and intractable facts in which our wartime China policy became involved. Dr. Feis surveys comprehensively the now voluminous record of how policy was formed and developed, using the archives of the State and War Departments and the papers or testimony of a great number of responsible individuals. The resulting narrative is clearly and vividly written, well documented as a basis for further research, and as purposefully dispassionate and objective as seems possible for a mortal historian so close to violent controversies. While he often refrains explicitly from judgment, Dr. Feis's judicious selection of evidence and his balanced analyses of policy problems give us the first appraisals that have been attempted on the basis of painstaking scholarly research over so much of the record. Among all the postwar books on China, this puts *The China Tangle* in a class by itself.

Every informed reader will draw his own impressions from the wealth of interesting detail here presented. It is in keeping with the author's purpose and method that he does not attempt over-all or generalized conclusions, although he provides a factual and documented basis on which the reader may judge the assumptions and attitudes, procedures and personalities which contributed to policy formation. Incidents and individuals which have thus far been described in isolation are thus brought into the historical context and can be better understood. This in itself deflates a lot of our postwar political oratory.

Since the diplomatic story can hardly be summarized in a review, nor amended except in details of minor importance, a reviewer may best note down certain general impressions which the book conveys, concerning the conduct of American policy and the beliefs on which it was based.

One error now generally acknowledged was the American tendency to exaggerate the wartime capabilities and postwar potentialities of China. This wishfulness stemmed from deep and subtle origins not yet explored in the American mind, including an inclination to make China's cause our own, in one form or another. Most striking in the narrative of events is F.D.R.'s disastrous practice of handling policy through irregular and special channels. Presidential envoys by-passed our embassy in Chungking just as regularly as T. V. Soong, H. H. Kung, and Mme. Chiang by-passed their own embassy and the State Department in Washington. This led to a sort of Sinicization of our China diplomacy, which came to be handled by palace politics as much as by staff work. Thus the State Department officers most concerned with China learned of the Yalta Agreement only six months afterward. Most appalling, perhaps, is the prima donna quality of certain F.D.R. appointees, especially Patrick J. Hurley. Dr. Feis treats him

with every respect but quotes his key pronouncements, which leave the reader aghast. In this context Dr. Feis's strictures on the free-wheeling of the Foreign Service officers in China, whom Hurley attacked, seem to me to overlook the ill-organized setup in which they were working and the peculiar proclivities of the ambassador, who was no ordinary chief of mission.

Amid all the conflicts of personality, however, *The China Tangle* brings into perspective a fundamental unity in our China policy, inadequate though that policy proved to be. From the autumn of 1943, if not earlier, our various representatives generally agreed that civil war must be averted in postwar China; a constitutional, multiparty type of government should be fostered; and Nationalist (Kuomintang) strength should be built up through military aid but would also require vigorous economic and social reforms. To this was added the hope that Soviet encroachment could be forestalled by treaty guaranties. The instructions to General Marshall in late 1945 (in the drawing up of which it is plain that he fully participated) were merely an extension of this approach.

Hindsight indicates how superficial and ineffective this approach really was, compared with the forces at work in China. All the efforts of our diplomats, generals, and administrators, so ably recounted here, sufficed chiefly to train Chinese armies, without penetrating to the springs of national power and social change. This closely packed volume renders an invaluable service in showing, through the words of participants, how our makers of high strategy, obliged to operate with their feet off the ground, seldom got below the level of Chiang Kai-shek.

Harvard University

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

GUERRA DIPLOMATICA IN ESTREMO ORIENTE (1914-1931): I TRATTATI DELLE VENTUN DOMANDE. In two volumes. By *Mario Toscano*. [Biblioteca di cultura storica, No. 40.] (Turin: Giulio Einaudi. 1950. Pp. 428; 508. L. 5400.)

THE Japanese policy of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere is here described as having two phases—the first being the attempt to penetrate China by diplomatic pressure during and after the First World War and the second being the military expansion following the Incident of 1931. Of the two phases these volumes deal with the first and organize the material strictly around the Twenty-One Demands made by Japan on the young Chinese Republic in January, 1915.

The story of Japanese aggression is told with clear objectivity by the author, who has wide experience in the general diplomatic history of the period and a good command of the considerable body of source material. He has had at his disposal not only the published documents of the powers involved but also unpublished materials in London, Paris, and Rome. Furthermore, he has consulted most of the available memoirs and has analyzed the repercussions of the diplo-

matic conflict in the parliamentary debates and newspaper polemics of the principal countries—Japan, China, Russia, Britain, France, and the United States. Experts in Oriental internal history may find his coverage of their literature more limited; he has not used, for example, the large collection of documents made by Wang Yün-sheng and described in this *Review* (July, 1953, p. 867).

Professor Toscano makes explicit the large role of the Japanese general staff in the formulation of the Twenty-One Demands and documents closely the decision of the Okuma cabinet to take advantage of the involvement of the European powers in the war and embark on a long-term policy of political and economic penetration into China relatively unhindered by imperialistic competitors. He comes to the conclusion that Japanese leadership, except some of the Genro, already envisioned the goal of driving the Westerners from the Far East and of westernizing China under Nipponese guidance. As soon as the Twenty-One Demands were presented, China recognized in them a threat to her independence because of the Japanese occupation of Shantung and South Manchuria, and especially because of the "fifth group" of demands which would have, if accepted, reduced her to a satellite. The shady way in which Japan presented the "fifth group" is termed a tactical error by the author, and yet he judges Chinese and American reactions as exaggerated. The American minister to Peking, Reinsch, was among the first to appreciate the full extent of Japanese ambitions, and his prompt and accurate assessment of the situation is rather inconsistently termed alarmist and Germanophile (I, 184, 198, 264).

Chinese efforts to argue their way around the demands and to stall in the hopes of either American or British intervention are examined with a reasonable lack of sympathy, and the final treaty, signed in Peking on May 25, is shown to be the result of *force majeure*.

Professor Toscano's second volume traces the application of the treaty. Until the end of the war, Japan consolidated its advantages, and after the war China pressed its revisionist claims. The contrast between the essentially "political" arguments of the Chinese and the "juridical" arguments of the Japanese is neatly drawn, especially as it manifested itself at the Paris Peace Conference and the Washington Conference. One gets the impression that Chinese passive resistance and American diplomacy pretty well frustrated Japanese expansion.

Numerous appendixes contain Italian translations of the most important diplomatic documents mentioned.

New York, N. Y.

GEORGE T. PECK

THE BRITISH IMPACT ON INDIA. By Sir Percival Griffiths, Indian Civil Service (Retired), Sometime Scholar of Peterhouse, Cambridge. (London: Macdonald; New York: Macmillan Company. 1952. Pp. xiii, 520. \$8.50.)

SIR Percival Griffiths, the author of this excellent book, has had a distin

guished career in India as a member of the Indian Civil Service, as an adviser to the government of India during the war, and as the leader of the European group in the Indian Central Legislature prior to the transfer of power in 1947. He has been closely connected with Indian commerce and industry. While he is an able historian, his approach is not primarily that of the scholar but rather that of the administrator and practical man of business who weighs the facts before him without emotion or academic speculation and passes a balanced judgment upon them. Some of his pages read as though they formed the report of a royal commission of inquiry. The reader is constantly made aware of the interplay of cause and effect, and the next step in the story seems always logical and, indeed, inevitable. Sir Percival is a liberal. He has great sympathy with Indian aspirations for self-government and regards the transfer of power as the necessary culmination of British rule.

His book is an attempt to evaluate the British impact on India and is divided into three sections which deal respectively with the administrative, the political, and the economic impact. The section on administration begins with some fascinating chapters upon administrative systems in India at various times prior to British occupation. Sir Percival believes that British administration, which is studied in detail, differed from its predecessors not so much in efficiency, though that was vastly increased, as in its impersonal character, its respect for personal liberty, its integrity, and its insistence upon equality before the law. He describes the mistakes and the rapacity of the British in the early days after Plassey and thinks that India has often been treated harshly in financial matters, but he believes that British administration in the nineteenth century brought India peace and order, the rule of law, the belief in liberty, modernization of the country, sound public finance, progress in the fight against famine and disease, advance in agriculture, and stable conditions that favored industry and commerce. The faults of British administration—its overcentralization and overpaternalism, its aloofness and class-consciousness, its exclusion of Indians from high executive positions—were, he believes, the inevitable result of foreign rule.

Sir Percival's section on the political impact of Britain takes the form of a historical survey of the rise of the Indian demand for self-government. Here the author covers familiar ground. He believes that Britain gave India the unity that grew into a sense of nationality and later into the ardent nationalism of modern times. He thinks also that Britain taught India a faith in democracy and in parliamentary institutions. He does not consider it necessary to excuse the gradualness of British concessions. On the other hand he is singularly free from bitterness at the excesses of the Congress party, though he condemns its complacency toward lawlessness and terror, cannot follow Mr. Gandhi's inconsistencies, and holds the Congress responsible for the Muslim demand for Pakistan.

The chapters on the economic impact are detailed and valuable. They show clearly the harm done in the eighteenth century and the unfairness of British

tariff policy. But they show also how the British connection encouraged manufacture, how irrigation and railways enriched the country, and how India learned from Britain the organization and management of industrial enterprise.

There is no question in Sir Percival's mind that, on the whole, the British impact upon India brought more advantage than loss. The value of a study of this kind depends upon the accuracy of the data employed and upon the judgment of the author. In both respects, I think, this book is an admirable accomplishment.

University of Minnesota

DAVID HARRIS WILLSON

American History

THE GENIUS OF AMERICAN POLITICS. By *Daniel J. Boorstin*. [Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lectures.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953. Pp. ix, 202. \$3.25.)

THIS slim volume offers a profound and imaginative inquiry into the essence of the American political tradition. It commands respect by its background of scholarship, and by the incisiveness of its approach; and it captivates the reader's attention by its sheer excellence of writing.

The central idea of the book is taken from the experience of Pompey the Great who, on penetrating the Jewish Temple at Jerusalem, found the Holy of Holies empty of all images. The innermost nature of American politics, according to Dr. Boorstin, similarly has consisted in the absence of any explicit political theory; our "*sanctum sanctorum* of national belief" has remained free from the graven images of political or social dogma.

This thesis is supported by several chapters surveying characteristic periods in American history. These stress the uniqueness of the American experience which has made explicit theories seem needless (pp. 8-35); the undermining of the beliefs of the Puritans by the very fact of their material success in the new country (pp. 36-65); the conservative and legalistic aspects of the American Revolution (pp. 66-98); the continued regard, by both sides in the Civil War, for a common constitutional tradition and for sociological and economic facts (pp. 99-132); and the significant mingling, throughout the nineteenth century, of political and religious thought, of environmentalism and tradition, and generally of the "givenness" of our peculiar past and unique surroundings with the undifferentiated "seamlessness" of our politics and culture (pp. 133-60). This sense of "givenness" and "seamlessness" has declined in recent years, perhaps in part due to the closing of the American frontier (pp. 163-69); and our growing "intellectual insecurity" has been made worse by "our failure to understand ourselves" and by "our readiness to accept the European clichés about us" (p. 181).

In this crisis, some Americans "make the un-American demand for a philosophy

of democracy. . . . Instead of trying to discover the reasons why we have managed to be free of idolatry, they will make their own graven image, their own ass's head, and say that is what belonged in the temple all the time." But throughout our history, as Professor Boorstin has surveyed it, we "have traditionally held out to the world, not our doctrine, but our example. . . . To tell people what institutions they must have, whether we tell them with the Voice of America or with the Money of America, is the thorough denial of our American heritage" (pp. 184-87).

Professor Boorstin argues clearly in the tradition of Edmund Burke, Alexis de Tocqueville, John C. Calhoun, and Frederick Jackson Turner. He disagrees strongly with the emphasis placed on the "cosmopolitan" or on the economic aspects of American history by such diverse historians as Carl L. Becker, Louis Hacker, and Charles and Mary Beard (pp. 77-83, 119-21). Yet even where readers may differ from his judgments, such as, for example, his pessimistic view of Europe, they are likely to find them hauntingly provocative, and fruitful of insights in the course of further discussion of the internationally comparable, as well as of the unique, aspects of American history and politics.

*Massachusetts Institute of Technology
and Princeton University*

KARL W. DEUTSCH

SOCIALISM AND AMERICAN LIFE. In two volumes. *Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons*, Editors. *T. D. Seymour Bassett*, Bibliographer. [Princeton Studies in American Civilization, Number 4.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1952. Pp. xiv, 776; xiv, 575. \$17.50 per set, \$10.00 per volume.)

No theme could put the resources of American scholarship to a severer test than the theme of the present work, *Socialism and American Life*. Every ramification of the subject is controversial (to put the matter mildly), and an almost superhuman objectivity is called for. So many competing influences have been at work in American life that the most discriminating judgment is necessary. Even the problem of definition is acute. So much depends upon the scope given to the term *socialism* that thoughtful observers can offer diametrically opposite answers to the simple question of whether the TVA exemplifies the influence of socialism in American life (cf. I, 482, 579).

The authors and editors of these two volumes, the latest in the series of "Princeton Studies in American Civilization," have risen magnificently to the challenge of their subject. Their work represents interdisciplinary scholarship at its most fruitful, for some of the most illuminating chapters are those that examine the impact of socialism in the realms of literature, art, and religion. The various authors, though several are committed to extremely divergent points of view, have all entered into the spirit of the undertaking. They have refrained from writing polemics against one another and each has sought instead to present his interpre-

tation clearly, temperately, and yet without equivocation. The work produces a maximum of light with a minimum of heat.

That the book will shine very brightly upon the stormy world of practical politics is most unlikely. Even for the scholar it is a tough book to digest. Much of the fault lies with the editors, who have failed to restrain the contributors within reasonable limits of length, or, alternatively, to revise their framework in such a way as to bring the various parts of this gigantic collection into organic relationship with one another. A 753-page volume in which the "essays" average more than 50 pages and in which one is allowed to run to 193 pages can hardly be called a symposium. Interconnections are difficult to perceive when the different aspects of a single topic are separated by the enormous distances that necessarily result. This work, like preceding volumes of the Princeton studies, grew out of a series of lectures. Elephantiasis seems to have set in during the process of converting the lectures into essays.

Given the materials that eventually came into their hands, the editors would have been well advised to limit the scope of the work to the twentieth century or even to the period since 1917. The book achieves a truly comprehensive range in dealing with this period, and its virtues of objectivity and clarity become especially conspicuous when it reaches the vexed and murky developments of recent years. Willard Thorp does a masterly job not only in tracing the involutions of the Communist party line but also in assessing the long-run significance for literature of the contacts, usually brief, of American writers with left-wing movements. Donald Drew Egbert traces with equal skill the even more intricate developments in architecture and the visual arts. Daniel Bell provides a detailed and highly entertaining account of the play of factions in the organized Marxian political parties of the United States (though his actual title is more inclusive than even his lengthy essay justifies). The philosophic aspects of socialism are discussed with deep, personal insight by Sidney Hook and Will Herberg. Paul M. Sweezy gives a clear and straightforward exposition of pure Marxian economics and in doing so manages (while clearly intending the opposite) to reveal the archaic character of the doctrine, its inapplicability to American conditions, and its barrenness of actual accomplishment in influencing American life. In an able though turgidly written essay, Wilbert E. Moore analyzes the sociological theories embodied in Marxism and then discusses from the sociological point of view the characteristics of actual socialistic groups. Only the chapter on psychology, which details some jejune "experiments" by the author, George W. Hartmann, falls markedly below the general level.

To say that the major contribution of the book lies in its treatment of socialism in contemporary American life is not to deny the high competence of certain essays on the earlier period. E. Harris Harbison's chapter on "Socialism in European History to 1848" is a masterpiece of historical synthesis. Impressive also are Albert T. Mollegen's scholarly analysis of the religious contribution to socialist

ideology, and Stow Person's perceptive account of the sectarian communities of the United States. All three writers compress their interpretations within limits which, had they been adhered to by other contributors, would have made possible a balanced treatment of the whole sweep of socialist history within a single well-ordered volume. As it is, however, these essays are so different in scale and intention from later ones that they properly belong in an entirely different book.

The second volume of the set, comprising 510 pages of text and 65 of index, is devoted exclusively to bibliography. It is a monumental compilation which will aid generations of scholars, both in this country and abroad, for the socialist literature of all countries and periods has been brought within its scope. Nevertheless one feels that here, too, the editors have allowed material to accumulate without seriously considering whether their original plan of organization remained adequate and appropriate. What began as a set of reading lists for undergraduates has expanded into a vast reference bibliography for scholars, yet the marks of its origin are everywhere upon it. The arrangement is topical but the topics are rather haphazardly chosen and do not add up, as they should, to a systematic, airtight classification of the subject as a whole. A topical arrangement like this is bound to play hob with chronology, which is of utmost importance to a serious scholar in the field. Despite cross-references and a full index, the bibliography is excessively awkward to use. A comprehensive, logical, exhaustive scheme of organization ought to have been considered absolutely prerequisite to a bibliographical undertaking of this magnitude and importance.

It would be ungenerous to end on a querulous note. Planning (whatever socialists may think) is not the supreme virtue. This work possesses qualities that more than compensate for any of its defects—notably the rarest qualities of all, insight and integrity.

University of Illinois

ARTHUR E. BESTOR, JR.

CHURCH, STATE, AND FREEDOM. By *Leo Pfeffer*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1953. Pp. xvi, 675. \$10.00.)

THIS is the most authoritative constitutional history of America's experience with the double-faceted principle of religious liberty and separation of government and religion. The author has had a distinguished career as counsel in many of the leading cases which define the law of the land. His is the first full-scale treatment by a legal scholar.

He believes that the First Amendment's injunction, "no law respecting an establishment of religion," originally intended a complete divorce of church and state, barring even nonmonetary government aid of a nonsectarian character to religion generally, as well as nonpreferential subsidies to sectarian groups. His argument, more brilliant as legal reasoning than convincing as history, claims more than the inconclusive evidence permits. In principle, however, he is sound.

A wall was erected, out of the belief, justified by events, that separation is best for both government and religion. Freedom to worship as we please, if we please, cannot fully flourish otherwise.

Regardless how high and impregnable the wall was originally intended, it is breached by many practices, including: released-time programs, school Bible-reading, grants-in-aid for denominational hospitals, congressional chaplaincies, tax-exemption of church properties, compulsory worship at West Point, and payments to sectarian schools attended by veterans. Pfeffer contends that the existence of these practices does not prove their constitutionality nor wisdom as public policy. They have brought "the very evils that the constitutional fathers sought to keep from the new republic; particularly when the impairments have occurred in the area of public education have the evils of interreligious disharmony and oppression been manifest."

This conclusion is based on elaborate analyses of the many religious practices in public schools and of government supports of religious education. There is considerable evidence that proselytizing, sectarian bitterness, psychological injury to children, and state coercion attend "friendly cooperation" between religion and government. From unpublished records of the *Zorach* case sustaining New York's released-time program, Pfeffer, who was of counsel, reprints pages of sworn affidavits which reveal more about the operation of released time than anything ever written on the subject. For example, "A student in her class became ill and vomited in the classroom. Miss Jeffries said to the sick student that she did not object to looking at the vomit as much as she objected to looking at the student's face because he did not participate in the released time program." On the subject of "indirect aids" to parochial schools, Pfeffer's critique of the "child benefit" theory should clarify much confused thinking.

The concluding section constitutes the ablest exposition of the constitutional law of freedom of religion. Though interdependent, freedom and separation sometimes conflict. Taxation of church property would impair religious liberty, but tax-exemptions breach the wall of separation. The same conflict is present in the use of public property by religious speakers or of public funds to pay army chaplains. Pfeffer's effort to harmonize separation and freedom will intrigue those who relish constitutional puzzles.

The whole problem of religious liberty is that of reconciling the clashing compulsions of conscience and community. While the state should not command what religion prohibits nor prohibit what religion commands, paramount communal interest may sometimes be protected only at the expense of freedom. Pfeffer's commentaries on the decisions in the many fascinating cases of jurisdictional dispute between God and Caesar are perceptive contributions to public law and policy. Specialists may question his overemphasis of the "clear and present danger" test and his assumption that the "preferred position" doctrine of the First Amendment still governs the Supreme Court which decided the *Poulos* case in

April, 1953. As it has in the free speech and separation cases, the Court may be retreating from the libertarian frontiers staked out in the forties.

Brandeis University

LEONARD W. LEVY

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND GERMAN AMERICANS. By *Colman J. Barry*, O.S.B. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company. 1953. Pp. xii, 348. \$6.00.)

THIS study, concerned with "German national consciousness in its relation to American Catholicism and as it existed among German Catholics in the United States" (pp. 12-13), takes an honorable place in the family of scholarly works upon European migration to America.

German and German-American Catholic leaders after 1860 gradually developed a far-reaching program intended to aid the German Catholic migrant from the time of departure from his home to his settlement in America, and to surround him in America with a milieu familiar to him, with the purpose of preserving his religious and cultural integrity and of guiding and cushioning his Americanization. This program, as it operated within the body of the American Catholic Church, led to a demand for German national parishes, the preservation of the German language, German representation in the hierarchy, independent parochial schools, and a perpetuation of German religious customs and organizations. There was even a German Catholic Priesterverein. The central figure in this sincere, effective movement was a German merchant, Peter Paul Cahensly, whose St. Raphaelsverein was the core of the multiplex activities, with local units in Germany and the United States, spreading also into Belgium, Austria-Hungary, and Italy as migration grew from those areas.

This program collided head-on with the equally sincere and strenuous purposes of American Catholic leaders of English and especially of Irish birth or descent, bent upon the rapid assimilation of incoming Catholics into the stream of American life. The ensuing clashes reached their peak in the 1890's. Years later, the thunder died away into the quiet of mutual understanding. Misimpressions, tinted with the former emotion, nevertheless have continued to distort views of the issues and the personalities; and a cloud has remained upon the name of Cahensly.

Father Barry throws full, clear light upon the issues which grew out of the German and German-American demands mentioned above. Well-chosen excerpts convey the zest of the fray and the interplay of personalities. With thorough documentation and balanced, penetrating analysis, he shows that "Cahenslyism" never was a Germanic effort to perpetuate its nationalism within the United States—despite Cahensly's connection with the ill-advised Lucerne Memorial of 1890 and despite various ill-conceived acts and statements which lent themselves readily to misunderstanding. Other issues, producing a non-national alignment

of contestants into "liberal" and "conservative" groupings, are treated ably to the extent to which they fall within the scope of the study: the broad controversy over "Americanism," and the full parochial school problem.

The author has tapped heavily the resources of archives and libraries in the United States, Germany, and Rome, and has made careful use of American and German interviews. It is to be regretted that the Abbelen Papers of Milwaukee were not made available to him; and, if the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide in Rome definitely has ruled that materials will not be available to researchers for one hundred years from date, it would seem to be a piece of rather monumental caution (p. 63, n. 32, and pp. 336-37).

College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minnesota

ROBERT P. FOGERTY

GEORGE WASHINGTON: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Douglas Southall Freeman*. Volume V, VICTORY WITH THE HELP OF FRANCE. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1952. Pp. xvi, 570. \$7.50.)

THIS, the last volume of the biography to be published during Freeman's lifetime, covers the period from the spring of 1778, when news of the French alliance reached America, to the Christmas Eve in 1783 when Washington returned, a private citizen, to Mt. Vernon. It has the merits and the shortcomings of the previous volumes. No other biographer has ever conveyed to the reader as Freeman does the sense of being very close to Washington. Therein lies his great achievement. Having set himself when he began the task of understanding an enigmatic and apparently cold figure, he finished his last chapter with a magnificent summing-up of Washington's character, in which once more the key words are justice, caution, patience, courage, and self-discipline. Every incident of dramatic worth that would shed light on some facet of that character is related in detail, with feeling, and with a quickened style, as if a first-rate reporter were writing an eyewitness account. Some such scenes stand out: Washington's behavior at Monmouth in learning of Lee's retreat; his visit to West Point and the subsequent discovery of Arnold's treason; and his farewell to the officers at Fraunces' Tavern. Less praiseworthy episodes are recounted, as his hasty if pardonable quarrel with Hamilton, and his treatment of his mother, which Freeman explains as his recognition of the dominant motive in her life, not alien at all to him, the getting of money. It is a human being which emerges from these pages, now as understandable, probably, as a great man can ever be.

The extraordinary index, compiled by Donald M. Allen, which actually includes every citation in the notes, shows how completely Freeman based his book upon source material. There are few references to modern books. An appendix raises the question, without answering it, whether Nathanael Greene, for a biography of whom Freeman pleads eloquently, sold to himself, as quartermaster, goods from a firm in which he had an interest.

So much for the merits of this volume. It should not be criticized for what it was meant to be. Freeman understood the difference between biography and history. In the last chapter he generalizes on the causes of the American success in the war, on the inadequacies of the American war effort, and on the weakness of the American army and its lack of able officers and of a competent staff. These are the remarks of a historian. The third of these generalizations is proved in part by evidence submitted earlier, but not the first two. Freeman, continually urging historians to rewrite the military history of the Revolution, rightly did not consider it his business to do more than to see the war through Washington's eyes, and to appraise his share in it. Yet the question remains: how much history should the biographer know? Should Washington's biographer understand what was happening in the British army? Or in the French? This volume begins with Monmouth and ends with Yorktown, two of Washington's four victories during the war. How much of the eighteenth-century art of war should a biographer understand in order to appraise the merits of an eighteenth-century commanding officer? There are thirteen pages on the battle of Monmouth, out of which it is impossible for even the careful reader, studying as best he can the one inadequate contemporary map which is reproduced, to form any clear picture. That the course of the battle was confused in Washington's mind was Freeman's justification for leaving it confused in the reader's, but it is true also that the quality of Washington's generalship would be better shown if the writer, and the reader, shared, to some degree, Washington's military knowledge.

Newberry Library

STANLEY PARGELLIS

UNTIL VICTORY: HORACE MANN AND MARY PEABODY. By *Louise Hall Tharp*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1953. Pp. xii, 367. \$5.00.)

HERE is a welcome addition to the literature of American history. Horace Mann's position in the history of his country is probably fixed. No new biography was needed to justify his title as the "father of the American common school." But, while Mrs. Tharp confirms his contributions to public education, she does far more than that. In this book Mann lives as he has not lived before in history books. He appears a living, vibrant, human being. The volume is as much about Mann as about his contributions to society. He comes to life as a boy, a student, a lover, a husband, and a father.

In these pages Mann also emerges as a leader in many fields of endeavor. His close friends included William Ellery Channing, Theodore Parker, and Jared Sparks, as well as Emerson and Hawthorne. He made a name for himself as an orator. He was a noted lawyer and served ably in the legislature and Congress. He directed the codification of the Massachusetts statutes. He is a good example of the reform leaders of his time, taking part in many social developments. He contributed much to the struggle for religious freedom, the cause of

temperance, enlightened care of the mentally defective, and the Free Soil movement.

Of course, Mann's greatest contribution was to the spread and improvement of free, public education. And, while his place as a leader in that field is assured, even the Mann enthusiast develops new appreciation as he reads this volume. Mann's life as an educational reformer was one of struggle and sacrifice in the face of great obstacles. He laid his legal and legislative careers, and perhaps the governorship of Massachusetts, upon the altar of the republic in the cause of education. Unable to find sufficient public, financial support for the teacher-training institutions which he founded, he many times contributed from his own limited funds, and several times borrowed in his own name, for their creation or continuance. Always he found bitter opposition from the selfish, the ignorant, and the bigoted. But, following his own last admonition to his students at Antioch, "Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity!" he won such victories himself.

Mrs. Tharp has produced a very readable and useful volume which cannot fail to spread understanding of Horace Mann and strengthen support for public education. The book is not only interesting and useful, it is well documented. The author has exploited the previously known sources for the study of Mann, and she has made excellent use of hitherto unused materials.

Duke University

W. H. CARTWRIGHT

AN AGRICULTURAL HISTORY OF THE GENESEE VALLEY, 1790-1860.

By *Neil Adams McNall*, Assistant Professor of History, Pennsylvania State College. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for the American Historical Association. 1952. Pp. xii, 276. \$5.00.)

THOSE who examine the text, statistics, and bibliography of this book will agree that Professor McNall's wish to "provide clearings of larger size" (p. x) in the Genesee wilderness has been realized. Ranging through the records of the counties that stretch along the Genesee River from Pennsylvania to Lake Ontario, he describes the natural setting; then, after reviewing early land speculation and population pressures which brought settlement, he reveals a story heretofore practically untouched for this region. That is the history of the settler's struggle to obtain title to land, of his indebtedness to the first great owners and later to eastern loan companies; of the development of farm tenancy, mainly on the Wadsworth estates; and of the efforts to produce a staple crop which culminated, after the advent of canal, railroads, and milling, in specialization on wheat. Finally, the author shows that, as western competition and the ravages of the midge increased, agricultural knowledge grew and a diversified farm economy was established shortly before the Civil War.

Though the locale is new, the drama played out on the set is old. Settlers

on many frontiers have passed through similar crises before watching their sons pass on to newer lands. Because of this truth, the book has a double value; area specialists may consult it for local data; general historians may find in it an epitome of American life.

From these pages, the history of the Genesee Valley appears to be almost wholly a projection of New England. Although considerable reliance is placed upon Orsamus Turner's oft-quoted regional history of 1851 and upon other observers of the local scene, there is little or no mention of the influence of British settlers or agricultural practice. If Mr. McNall's wide study of primary sources, including the Wadsworth manuscripts, justified this deviation from earlier impressions, statement of the fact would have been welcome. One could wish, too, that the organization within the chapters had been more clear-cut.

The heavy documentation of the book creates a problem for the scholar. If he finds a proportion of the references and quotations inaccurate (*vide* notes 34, p. 26; 23, p. 38; 29, p. 39; 56, p. 43; 9, p. 97; 12, p. 98; 10, p. 111) what should his conclusion be? Certainly not in this case that the author is ill-informed; perhaps that we work too hurriedly and trust ourselves too little, for undoubtedly an expert's analysis would be more effective than masses of quotations in small print.

This work was carried out with the advice of experienced historians and the aid of the Beveridge Fund. Its worth as a picture of the area and a depository of fact for the use of writers of history or fiction will scarcely be questioned.

Baltimore, Maryland

HELEN I. COWAN

THE GROWTH OF SOUTHERN NATIONALISM, 1848-1861. By Avery O. Craven. [A History of the South, Volume VI.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 433. \$6.50.)

In this most recent analysis of the antecedents of the Civil War, Avery O. Craven traverses ground which has already been covered within the last eleven years by Allan Nevins, Roy F. Nichols, J. G. Randall, and, not least, by himself. With the law of diminishing returns working against him, he has nevertheless succeeded in bringing new insights to bear on familiar episodes and in increasing the precision with which the factors of sectional conflict can be evaluated.

Although his volume purports to treat all aspects of the history of the South from 1848 to 1861, it is not so much a general history of the region as a study of southern opinions, attitudes, and reactions to events. This focus is attained at a certain cost, for social and economic tendencies and conditions receive less than their share of attention. One finds, it is true, good discussions of educational developments and of railroad expansion, but such matters as economic colonialism, the intellectual blockade, the nature of the cotton economy, the economic relations of the upper and lower South, the social structure of the antebellum South, and most conspicuously, the institution of slavery, receive limited

or indirect consideration. Consequently, southern beliefs about a given matter are sometimes clearer than the facts about the matter. (I do not mean to suggest that one approach has any higher validity than the other, but, in the quest for reality, there is always a choice between reconstructing a past world as the writer sees it or reconstructing it as its inhabitants saw it, and Professor Craven is concerned with the impact of the ante-bellum world upon its southern inhabitants, as well as with their consequent drift toward a separate nationalism.)

The value of still another general history, however, would have been questionable in any case, and by maintaining one especial focus the author has provided a complete, thorough, and perhaps one may say conclusive study of southern opinion during thirteen crucial years. His intensive scrutiny produces some striking modifications in the conventional picture. Notably, he shows that the southern public evinced very little interest in or enthusiasm for either the Kansas-Nebraska Act or the Dred Scott decision. The emotional storms were mostly in the North. He also shows that John Brown's raid went as far as any other single event to revolutionize opinion in the South. Historians have treated the raid as an episode or symptom of sectional bitterness, at a lower level of importance than Kansas-Nebraska or Dred Scott, but Craven's treatment suggests that its full significance has been overlooked. In his discussion of the election of 1860 and the secession that followed, he does not affirm that Lincoln's election was "a menace to slavery in the states," but he does show that the South seceded because of the victory of Republicanism in general and not because of a specific mistaken fear that Lincoln was an abolitionist.

The material is by nature controversial, and some critics may feel that Craven's treatment is benign toward the South—that he passes lightly over the conspicuous bellicosity of some southern congressmen, that he overstates the role of slavery as a focus for other antagonisms and underrates it as a cause of antagonism in itself, that he minimizes the role of southern votes in enacting the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and that he emphasizes southern tranquillity about Kansas-Nebraska and Dred Scott without recognizing that people seldom become excited about decisions in their favor—it is the adverse decisions that stimulate rancor. Critics may even feel that he gives a subtle advantage to the South simply by reason of the care which he takes to understand the southern position, for to understand is to justify, in history as elsewhere. But even allowing for these points, he has, in the opinion of the reviewer, arrived at one of the most carefully refined and judicious of the many evaluations of the sectional crisis—an evaluation which represents a substantial advance over his own previous appraisals. As in his other writings, he still stresses the importance of emotional factors, but he has perfected his analysis of the relation of these factors to underlying conditions and he no longer suggests that human folly caused a needless war. He recognizes, along with many other writers, the fact that the South was resisting the Industrial Revolution, but none has perceived more clearly than he that irresistible forces

must sometimes provoke resistance for the precise reason that their irresistibility allows no real alternative of any kind and therefore no apparent alternative except that of resistance. Without pretending that the South was able to view the over-all situation realistically, he demonstrates that it was entirely realistic for southerners to believe in 1860 that the Union was passing into hostile control and that if there were any choice (which there was not), it was between secession and submission. Yet he also recognizes the continued strength of the forces of Union even in the hour of secession, and he shows clearly that the paradox of secession becomes more, rather than less, paradoxical in proportion as one studies it intensively. These insights, and others in the volume, all contribute substantially to a deeper understanding of the great sectional crisis.

Yale University

DAVID M. POTTER

GRANT AND HIS GENERALS. By *Clarence Edward Macartney*. (New York: McBride Company. 1953. Pp. xiv, 352. \$5.00.)

Dr. Clarence Edward Macartney has been engaged for forty years in studying and writing about the American Civil War. *Grant and His Generals* is the fifth book he has distilled from this considerable amount of research and reflection, and like his works on the relations of President Lincoln with his cabinet members and his generals, this book is a solid historical work, bulwarked with scholarship and written with a commendable depth of understanding.

Dr. Macartney now considers the relations of General Grant and thirteen of the generals with whom he was most intimately associated, and, in a final chapter, with President Lincoln himself. The generals include Meade, Logan, Smith, Thomas, Wilson (James H.), Butler, Rawlins, Halleck, Sherman, Sheridan, Burnside, McPherson and McClernand. In Dr. Macartney's opinion, of this lot, and a number of satellites more briefly considered, Generals Thomas, Sherman, W. F. Smith and McPherson emerge with the greatest honor and the most credit. The author, rather surprisingly, considers Sheridan a somewhat ruthless parvenu. Meade, he believes, deserves great credit for his conduct of Gettysburg and some disapproval for remaining too aloof at Second Cold Harbor, where thousands of Union troops were butchered in futile assaults, and at the explosion of the Petersburg mine, a fiasco almost as disastrous.

Dr. Macartney has dredged up a large amount of original material upon, as well as arrived at a fresh viewpoint on, many of the battles and battle captains of the Civil War. The most important chapter in the book concerns General W. F. ("Baldy") Smith, a professional soldier whose readiness for intrigue and controversy undoubtedly held him back from more important commands than he ever held. Smith was a corps commander in the Army of the Potomac until shortly before Gettysburg. Transferred to the Army of the Cumberland as its chief engineer, he devised the daring and ingenious (and successful) plan to relieve the

siege of Chattanooga by an amphibious operation at Brown's Ferry. Subsequently he was considered, by Grant and others, for command of the Army of the Potomac, but wound up as a corps commander under Ben Butler in the Army of the James. Butler, the Massachusetts Democrat, certainly the master of them all at military and civilian politics on the self-interest level, sent Smith into obscurity when the latter intrigued against him.

Dr. Macartney obtained General Smith's unfinished manuscript biography, never before published in part or in full, and found many acute observations of Union generalship. Smith thought Thomas "about on a par with Washington; safe but not brilliant" but withal the best of the northern generals; gave fairly high marks to Sherman, Buell, Porter and Franklin; characterized Burnside as an amiable muddler, and Grant, whom he finally came to detest, as an opportunist with "moral qualities drowned in rot-gut whiskey."

Anyone interested in the Civil War, whether as a scholar or a general reader, will value this book. It does not seem to have attracted much attention from newspaper and magazine reviewers, and that is an injustice and a pity.

Hollywood, California

RICHARD O'CONNOR

THE NEGRO IN THE CIVIL WAR. By *Benjamin Quarles*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1953. Pp. xvi, 379. \$5.00.)

THE recent appearance of a big book about the southern Confederacy which contains only brief and misleading references to the Negro illustrates Benjamin Quarles's temperate statement that some historians "have simply neglected to approach the period with the Negro in mind." Although Bell I. Wiley has written a fine study of the southern Negro during the Civil War, until now there was no satisfactory account of the Negro's full contribution to the Union cause. Professor Quarles's aim was "to set the records straight, to restore the Negro to his rightful, active place in the War that set him free." In this effort he has had admirable success. *The Negro in the Civil War* is an important book, exceptionally well written, and based upon careful research even though there are no footnote citations. Hereafter only a remarkably obtuse historian will venture a study of the Civil War without an evaluation of the role of the Negro.

Professor Quarles gives tardy recognition to the contribution of thousands of Negroes who served in labor battalions which hauled supplies, dug trenches, and built fortifications. He stresses the crucial fact that despite various forms of discrimination 180,000 Negroes joined the Union's armed forces and participated in fifty-two military engagements during the last two years of the war. Above all, he riddles the legend that southern slaves were indifferent about the course of events, and he notes their mass escapes when approaching Union armies gave them the opportunity. Professor Quarles contends that too often the kindly sentiments some slaves expressed for a well-disposed master have been "mistaken

for a love of bondage." There was a difference; and his further contention that most slaves knew the meaning of freedom and yearned for it is altogether reasonable.

Civil War specialists will detect an occasional error of fact, and here and there some reader may wish to dispute an interpretation. For example, the bitterness that many Negroes developed in their bondage makes the sweeping statement that "the slaves were a forgiving lot" one of questionable validity. It is also doubtful that the thoughts about freedom of the mass of illiterate slaves—or even of the Negro soldiers—were as abstract and philosophical as Professor Quarles sometimes implies. Finally, one must overlook a great deal of history to accept his picture of the Civil War as an "uplifting national experience." In this sense Professor Quarles has written a somewhat romanticized version of this great tragedy. But in another sense, by introducing the Negro as "an active member of the cast," he has given the drama a kind of realism and authenticity it never had before.

University of California

KENNETH M. STAMPP

THE BUILDER: A BIOGRAPHY OF EZRA CORNELL. By *Philip Dorf*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1952. Pp. x, 459. \$5.00.)

In the rapidly growing library of business biography, this book falls somewhere in the middle group. It is entirely without any "robber baron" tone; Mr. Dorf writes with sympathy for his subject and, on a few occasions, even with a tone of special pleading. On the other hand, the author is never in danger of panegyric. The research is thorough, and the materials are used with discrimination. Ezra Cornell emerges a quite human human being, a strong but none too lovable personality, a businessman who added to the instincts of a speculator certain powerfully operative elements of ideology.

The biography divides roughly into halves. The first treats the struggle of the farm boy to find his place in the new industrial society. Partly by calling on the skills of a natural tinkerer, much more by persistent speculation and a flat refusal to accept ruin, Cornell finally reached wealth and status through success in the telegraph industry. The critical upswing in his fortunes came in 1855, when he and his middlewestern competitors merged to form Western Union. Cornell's stockholdings ultimately netted him some two million dollars, and soon after 1855 they put him in a position to turn his energies to nonbusiness concerns.

The second half of the book, treating Cornell's role as an educational philanthropist, is in many ways the more satisfying. Here Mr. Dorf's materials seem richest, and his feel for his subject most sure. The biography takes on all the fascination of a plumbing of complicated human personality as the relentless speculator shifts over to the relentless democratizer of culture. Cornell starts, in a small way, with the Cornell Public Library. Then the onetime farm boy,

now turned titan and politician, begins planning higher education for the agricultural regions. Finally, under the influence of his own expanding ideas and of his association with Andrew D. White, Cornell brings about the establishment of his university. He is still the speculator, restlessly trying to run up the value of the university's properties. He is still irritatingly grim, stalking the campus in his frock coat and stovepipe hat. But he is also a major force in creating a college that was amazingly broad in its conception of higher education and pioneeringly democratic in its avoidance of sectarianism, its facilities for less privileged students, and its friendliness to education for women.

Like all good books, this one could be better. The description of Cornell's business rise at times leaves the reader confused because of the inadequate presentation of specific details of his industry. In some places the smooth style glides over pivotal considerations of fact or of personality. But these are the minor defects of a decidedly superior biography. It offers a great deal to the student of American entrepreneurship, it cannot be ignored by the historian of democratic culture, and it will provide a rich evening to anyone interested in that peculiar combination of authoritarian greed and equalitarian yearnings, the nineteenth-century American businessman.

Princeton University

ERIC F. GOLDMAN

BLOODY WILLIAMSON: A CHAPTER IN AMERICAN LAWLESSNESS.

By *Paul M. Angle*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1952. Pp. xiv, 300, xiv. \$4.00.)

WHEN there are a hundred books such as Paul M. Angle's *Bloody Williamson*, we will know a lot more about life in the United States of America than we do now. Subtitled "A Chapter in American Lawlessness," this model case history is a narrative, against its own background, of the disorder and violence which occurred in Williamson County, in southern Illinois, thirty years ago.

The worst event in the record is the "Herrin massacre," June 21-22, 1922. In that outburst of passion nineteen strikebreakers from Chicago were killed and another fatally wounded by gunfire from strikers following the surrender of the besieged men at a strip coal mine about five miles southeast of Herrin. Children joined the angry strikers in yelling "Scab!" at the captives as they stumbled, beaten and bleeding, along the road or lay dying in adjoining woods.

Actually the story of violence in Williamson County begins a half century earlier with the "bloody vendetta" which was touched off by a fight at a card game. Mr. Angle recounts that bitter feud of the 1870's with its six or more ambushings and killings over a period of eight years. Its end he finds was nothing less ugly than a hanging in the jailyard at Marion. Other chapters in the sordid chronicle of violence and death tell of the Ku Klux Klan strife which culminated in a gunfight at Herrin in 1925 when a Klansman and three anti-Kluxers

were killed. Then there was the prohibition era and the gangsterism that followed and the rise of such underworld characters as Charlie Birger, Art Newman, and the Shelton brothers.

Paul Angle, who is director of the Chicago Historical Society and former librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library, sacrifices no scholarship in his extraordinarily graphic narration. On the contrary, his use of the vivid writing of the best of newspaper reporters only makes his history the more effective. Stating the case for such a study of Williamson County and at the same time inviting in effect others to produce similar community case histories, Mr. Angle writes that the contrast between the "friendliness and hospitality" of the people of Williamson County "as I know them" and their record of "violence and lawlessness" is one of the reasons he wrote the book. Another reason is the experience he had when he undertook to contribute a short paragraph on the Herrin massacre to the *Dictionary of American History*. He could find no account on which he could rely and so spent many hours quarrying what he took to be the essential facts. Now he knows that his article of 150 words contains at least two inaccuracies.

Mr. Angle turns up nothing "foreign" in his grisly story. The causes of the violence are peculiarly American, he writes—"family hatreds, labor strife, religious bigotry, nativistic narrowness, a desire for money and to hell with the rules." For aside from a fairly recent arrival of Europeans, Williamson County people were largely from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and North and South Carolina. The author quotes from William L. Chenery's 1924 article in the *Century*: "Socialism, Communism and other doctrines have played no part in the violence and murder which have brought such ill fame to this 'queen of Egypt.' The issues are strictly American, and the wrongs done are the native products of the United States."

If there are those who wonder how Williamson County is taking the publication of this book, the answer is very well. There are those who do not like the title, but the common feeling is that Mr. Angle has been both truthful and fair. A fourteen-page chronology lists the principal events chapter by chapter, and an extensive review of sources amounts to a guide to others in similar research.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

IRVING DILLIARD

RELIGION IN TWENTIETH CENTURY AMERICA. By *Herbert Wallace Schneider*. [Library of Congress Series in American Civilization.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. x, 244. \$4.25.)

THE GREAT TRADITION OF THE AMERICAN CHURCHES. By *Winthrop S. Hudson*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1953. Pp. 282. \$3.75.)

NEITHER of these works is history in the conventional sense, but many historians will find both of them informative and stimulating. Since J. Franklin

Jameson called the attention of the American Historical Association to "The American Acta Sanctorum" in his presidential address for 1907 (*AHR*, January, 1908), scholars in many disciplines—church history, secular history, philosophy, and literature, among others—have been attempting to analyze and assess the role of religion in the making of America. William W. Sweet, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Ralph H. Gabriel, Herbert W. Schneider, Perry Miller, and others—with their students—have done much to inject new vigor and impart new directions to this effort. The colonial period has been especially well worked, the nineteenth century less so, the recent past relatively little. Much remains to be done, and the books here considered will serve to encourage and guide future inquiry.

Religion in Twentieth Century America is part of the new "Library of Congress Series in American Civilization," which will include fifteen "extended essays" on the political, economic, social, and cultural institutions of the United States at the present time, written by established scholars under the general editorship of Ralph H. Gabriel. Professor Schneider, who has taught philosophy and religion at Columbia for many years, has succeeded about as well as any one author could in surveying topically, within a single slender volume, the main trends in American religion since 1900. Changes in church organization, moral orientation, theology, liturgy, and religious psychology are traced each in turn. There is slight emphasis on denominationalism, the curse of traditional church history. While avowedly a kind of "reminiscence," the book rests essentially on thorough study of recent literature concerning the sociology of religion, and among its useful features are the bibliographical notes, exhibits, and statistical tables.

This volume will appeal particularly to students of intellectual history. It includes a careful analysis of the conflicting thought-currents in twentieth-century Protestantism and a suggestive exploration of the interrelation between religion and psychology since the time of William James. The main impression it conveys is that while in terms of church membership, attendance, ministerial training, and manifold institutional activities, religion has never been stronger or more flourishing, in terms of spiritual vitality and moral power it has grown weaker. Religion has become increasingly a social activity rather than a spiritual experience; the church has been largely secularized. "I am merely reporting," the author says, "how our religion itself, our love of the eternal, has yielded to the pressures of our times" (p. 5).

The Great Tradition of the American Churches is a protest against this "sin of surrender to contemporary culture" (p. 264). Dr. Hudson, who is professor of church history at the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, is not "merely reporting." He represents a current tendency among theological scholars to plead for religious renewal.

"The great tradition" is the voluntary principle of church support, a corollary to the separation of church and state. In the nineteenth century American churches

responded well to the challenge of being thrown on their own resources. Lyman Beecher discovered, the author notes, that disestablishment was "the best thing that ever happened in Connecticut." In the twentieth century, however, the churches have tended to "embrace the world," becoming more rotarian than sectarian and ignoring St. Paul's admonition to "come out" and "be separate." The lax standards of church admission, the abandonment of church discipline, the waning of evangelistic zeal, and the decline of religious influence in higher education are cited as evidences of the diminishing of piety in the decades since 1890. Dr. Hudson is especially critical of the "New Theology," based largely on an optimistic interpretation of the idea of evolution, which was popularized in the late nineteenth century by such "princes of the pulpit" as Henry Ward Beecher. Revivalists like Dwight L. Moody and "religious realists" like Walter Rauschenbusch, on the other hand, are presented in a more favorable light. This book will be a challenging one to all those concerned with the relation of religion to history.

Pennsylvania State College

IRA V. BROWN

THE STRANGE CASE OF ALGER HISS. By *The Earl Jowitt*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1953. Pp. 380. \$3.95.)

DESPITE the review of the case by two juries, the refusal of the Supreme Court to intercede in behalf of the convicted man, and the published story of the star witness, the enigmatic aspects of the Hiss Case remain unresolved. It is therefore decidedly in the public interest to have this fresh examination of the case by the former Attorney General and Lord Chancellor of Great Britain. Although the first American printing of the Jowitt book was withdrawn from publication because of the discovery of "a serious inadvertent factual error," this and other slips were corrected in the edition finally issued, but in fact none of these errors was crucial to the author's main argument.

In his preface the author categorically states: "I shall express no opinion as to whether or not Alger Hiss was guilty. I should be most reluctant to do so without having had an opportunity of seeing the witnesses or hearing them give their evidence." Nevertheless in subjecting the facts to critical review Earl Jowitt raises considerable doubts both as to Chambers' veracity and to the authenticity of the documentary evidence. Since in *Fair Trial* this reviewer expressed similar misgivings about some of the government's evidence, it is perhaps ungracious to express certain reservations about the scope of the book and the methodology of the author.

Writing at this late date, it does seem strange that the author did not take post trial developments into consideration, notably the startling attacks on the validity of the corroborative evidence that were made by the defense since the

second trial, along with the government's rebuttal of that new evidence. But since he was determined to restrict his analysis to the record of the second trial, there seems little logic in his drawing upon Chambers' book, *Witness*, for additional evidence of that witness' motives. Thus, Jowitt attaches immense importance to the admission of Chambers in his book that after breaking with the Communist party he had retained copies of official documents as "a life preserver" should the party move against his life. In addition, he feels that Chambers' suicide story, told in his autobiographical account for the first time, seriously affects that witness' credibility. However, in view of the fact that the author criticizes the court for admitting evidence which under English rules would be inadmissible, it is scarcely cricket for him to range outside his own stated rules. Furthermore, in attaching special significance to the failure of the government to prove that Donald Hiss was a party member, he falls into much the same trap as did trial counsel, that of wandering off into irrelevances instead of concentrating on the main issues—the one witness and the documentary evidence.

Despite his careful review of the evidence Earl Jowitt overlooked two crucial issues that might profitably have been explored further—first, the inconsistencies which developed in the trial between the stories by Chambers and Wadleigh of the sinister Bykov, the Russian espionage agent; second, the fact as to whether or not Chambers ever used the name Crosley. As regards the latter point, it will be recalled that at the famous Commodore Hotel confrontation Hiss finally declared: "I am now perfectly prepared to identify this man as *George Crosley*." Confined as he was either to the trial record or to Chambers' book for his analysis of the evidence, the author failed to ascertain that a New York publisher in a newspaper interview admitted knowing Chambers under the name of "George Crosley."

Earl Jowitt's astute comparisons between the trial practice and rules of evidence prevailing in British courts and federal court practice will provide further ammunition to those who have been troubled by the defects in our trial procedure which the Hiss case underscored. The author feels that the Hiss juries could not have escaped being influenced by the wide pretrial publicity that the case received and that the court should have given more positive help to the jury in coming to their decision than is required of judges in our federal courts or permitted in some of our state courts. In English courts the judge is expected in his charge to comment on the facts and to distinguish between the important and the immaterial.

A courteous reprimand of Murphy is implicit in Jowitt's comment on the role of counsel for the prosecution in England. "He should, I think, eschew rhetoric and those various devices of advocacy which would not be inappropriate to the defending Counsel; and he should throughout so conduct his case as to avoid any risk of prejudice arising to the accused." Murphy's summation violated every principle laid down by Earl Jowitt. He stigmatized the accused as a traitor, classed him with Benedict Arnold and Judas Iscariot, and, without having laid any foundation for the charge in his examination of the government typewriter expert,

he set forth the unsupported but crucial argument identifying Priscilla Hiss as the typist of the Baltimore documents.

It is in his objective and detached analysis of trial practice much more than in his painstaking review of the evidence that the author makes his most important contribution to our understanding of the baffling Case of Alger Hiss and its meaning for our time.

Columbia University

RICHARD B. MORRIS

IDEALS AND SELF-INTEREST IN AMERICA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS: THE GREAT TRANSFORMATION OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *Robert Endicott Osgood*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953. Pp. xii, 491. \$6.50.)

THE thesis of this book is that the threats to national security from 1939 to 1945 brought about a revolutionary transformation in the approach of the American people to the problem of foreign relations. Formerly our diplomacy had been guided by three schools of thought: parochial nationalism or isolationism, egoistical nationalism, represented by Theodore Roosevelt, and the highly moralistic liberalism of Woodrow Wilson. The second of these schools stood for expansionism, close co-operation with Great Britain, and the moral duty to extend the beneficence of Anglo-Saxon civilization and American righteousness. The third group, the Wilsonian liberals, sought to justify every action as altruistic and moral. Its exponents looked forward to replacing the balance of power system with an international organization in which the United States would show the way to peace.

The author analyzes the arguments in the debates over the war with Spain, American entry into World War I, the fight over the League of Nations, and the Great Debate prior to Pearl Harbor. No attempt is made to examine the economic forces which helped catapult the United States into the stream of power politics, nor does the author look upon these arguments as convenient rationalizations employed to justify what may have been essentially economic motives or simply nationalistic drives for power and prestige.

Like his colleague at the Center for the Study of American Foreign Policy at the University of Chicago, Hans J. Morgenthau, Mr. Osgood is an exponent of the realistic approach. While stressing the necessity for expediency in conducting diplomacy, the author believes that this must always serve the long-range aim of preserving Christian-liberal-humanitarian ideals. There is no virtue in a nation preserving its self-interests unless that nation also stands for ends worth achieving. Thus the author saves himself from charges of advocating sheer opportunism.

Mr. Osgood believes that because the crusade to liberate Cuba was inspired by an ephemeral burst of missionary zeal to bring the blessings of free institutions to suppressed peoples, the American people not only failed to take into

account the nature of the country's new commitments but they forgot the noble promises held out to the new colonial subjects. The author also contends that both Wilson and Roosevelt made American entry into World War I a matter of national honor and moral duty. Failure to put the argument in terms of the nation's security resulted from Wilson's inability to face the horrors of war until he could justify it as an idealistic venture. Others, like Theodore Roosevelt, at first identified the threat to security with a possible German invasion, something which was highly unlikely. When the people refused to take Roosevelt's warning seriously, he made participation a matter of national honor. Neither national honor nor moral duty justified American entry and when the war ended, disillusionment was inevitable.

Not everyone will agree that self-interest has failed to receive the attention it deserved from those who have shaped our foreign policy. Whatever altruism we manifested toward China and Latin America may also have been evidence of the absence of any important interests in those areas in an earlier era.

This well-written and provocative book is the most careful analysis of American diplomatic history from this particular point of view. Its influence is likely to be great for it provides a logical exposition of ideals and self-interest that is well attuned to a period when neither traditional isolationism nor Wilsonian idealism fit the facts of international relations.

Ohio State University

PAUL A. VARG

NEW GUINEA AND THE MARIANAS, MARCH 1944–AUGUST 1944. By *Samuel Eliot Morison*. [History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, Volume VIII.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1953. Pp. xxiii, 435. \$6.00.)

THIS volume treats the significant period in the Pacific war from March to August, 1944. The author introduces the reader to his subject with a sound analysis of Pacific strategy and then launches into the story of submarine patrols, fast carrier strikes, and the conquest of western New Guinea: Hollandia, Wakde-Sarmi, Biak, Noemfoor, and Sansapor. Then follows the hard core of the book, the conquest of the Marianas—Saipan, Tinian, Guam—and the greatest carrier action of the war, the battle of the Philippine Sea.

The Marianas story is by far the best part of the volume. Here Morison is in his element, at home with the Navy in an operation he experienced at first hand. Writing smoothly, and seemingly effortlessly, he infuses his narrative with life, energy, color, lively anecdote, and authoritative on-the-spot reporting.

Here too the author comes to grips with one of the important controversies of the Pacific war: Was the escape of Admiral Ozawa's fleet in the battle of the Philippine Sea a mistake? Was that action "the chance of a century missed" (p.

313), as Admiral Clark told the author ten days after? Was Admiral Spruance, who commanded the Fifth Fleet in the crucial engagement, justified when he wrote to Morison eight years later that "going out after the Japanese and knocking their carriers out would have been much better and more satisfactory" (p. 315)? The author says no and the reviewer thinks he is right. Spruance wisely, and to his credit as a combat commander, kept firmly in mind his central mission, the conquest of the Marianas, from which long-range bombers could strike at Japan itself.

Morison's assessment of Saipan as "Japan's Yorktown" is also defensible. Though Ozawa's fleet escaped, and the Japanese navy still had great fire power in terms of an old prewar slugging match at sea, their scoring punch was in actuality gone. What made matters far worse, Japan's terrible losses were irreplaceable: 476 carrier and land-based planes, almost a hundred more than the total number which struck Pearl Harbor, about 445 aviators, three carriers—*Shokaku*, *Taiho*, and *Hiyo*—in addition to other craft.

These undeniable facts make Morison's conclusions on Spruance all the sounder. For why the great hurry, when within a relatively short period of time Japan's fleet was going to meet ultimate defeat one way or the other? The Japanese admirals who understood the true meaning of the naval war in the Pacific knew that without a fleet air arm they had no chance. Ozawa, wise and tested sea dog that he was, saw the handwriting on the wall, as he attested to the reviewer in numerous conversations in Japan after the war. Those who are partial to the Southwest Pacific Area command will no doubt claim that it was the battle of Leyte Gulf that reduced the Japanese navy to a "fishpond fleet." True enough, but it was the battle of the Philippine Sea that destroyed Japan's naval aviation beyond repair. And with that terrible handicap, no navy in the world could possibly have faced the United States fleet with any hope of success.

In view of the fact that about one third of this book is devoted to the Southwest Pacific Area command, one might have expected a fuller treatment of General MacArthur and his staff. Of course, Morison is more interested in combat commanders than staff officers and in a history of this type his preference may be justified. But it does seem unfortunate that so highly gifted a scholar, with no little resources and assistance at his command, has not contributed more of the benefits of his broad and intimate knowledge, his keen analysis, and excellent judgment to this part of his book.

Professor Morison's next installment of the Pacific series will deal with Leyte. Here will be problems with numerous, difficult, and sensitive ramifications. The reviewer hopes that Morison will delve deeper this time into the Japanese side of the story, analyze the strategic advisability of going into the Philippines, and meet all controversial issues head on.

University of Maryland

GORDON W. PRANGE

ENSAYOS SOBRE LA HISTORIA DEL NUEVO MUNDO. By *Edgar McInnis, et al.* [Estudios de historia, IV.] (Mexico, D. F.: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia. 1951. Pp. xii, 497. \$25.00 [mex.].)

THE dominant theme of this volume, if a loose collection of essays by many authors spanning two continents and many centuries can be said to have a theme, is the problem of unity and diversity of the Americas. The element of diversity, symbolized by the multilingual character of the contributions, is implicit in the most numerous group, synthetic essays on individual countries or regions with only incidental concern for their interrelations. Included here are essays of Edgar McInnis on Canada, Gustave Lanctot on French Canada, Dantes Bellegarde on Haiti, Jorge Basadre on Peru, Ricardo Donoso on Chile, Natalicio González on Paraguay, and José M. Ots Capdequí on the administrative institutions of colonial New Granada. Closely related to these are somewhat broader regional studies of Emeterio Santovenia on the Antilles, Rafael Heliodoro Valle on Central America, and José Luis Romero on the Río de la Plata.

Several essays explore phases of unity and diversity within the vast area of Spanish America as a whole. Mariano Picón-Salas analyzes the bases of unity in the age of revolt from Spain, notes the powerful growth of nationalism, and finds in the parallel developments within national states an underlying unity. The introductory fragment of an uncompleted essay presents Alfonso Reyes' general ideas concerning the need to study Spanish-American literature in terms of its social context.

Most interesting to the student of the Americas as a whole are five contributions concerned specifically with the problems of hemispheric unity and diversity. Arthur P. Whitaker, in "The Americas in the Atlantic Triangle," finds that the often striking differences as well as the similarities between Anglo- and Latin America are symptomatic of common participation in great movements largely generated in Europe, the third and until recently the pace-setting member of the Atlantic community. Though concerned with an even larger relationship, that of metropolitan Europe with all the undeveloped lands of the "Great Frontier" throughout the world, the essay of Walter Prescott Webb and John Francis Murphy on "The Precious Metals as a Medium of Exchange" provides an excellent example of Whitaker's thesis of the unifying influence of interaction between the Americas and Europe. Charles C. Griffin, in "Unidad y variedad en la historia americana," surveys the various interpretations of the history of the Americas and reaches somewhat similar conclusions. He believes, allowing for temporary if striking differences resulting from time lag, that there is a basic unity in the history of the Americas, a unity shared in considerable degree with Western civilization as a whole. Silvio Zavala's "Formación de la historia americana" generalizes broadly characteristic trends in the history of the New World from

pre-Columbian times to the present. Without concentrating explicitly on unity and diversity, Zavala leans toward the former as the predominant element in hemispheric history. Gilberto Freyre writes "Em torno de um critério transnacional de estudo histórico da América," encountering if not hemispheric at least great regional unities in the tropical, patriarchal, monocultural slave societies symbolized by the Brazilian "great house and slave quarters," and found also in such places as coastal Peru, Venezuela, the Antilles, and the Old South of the United States.

By way of conclusion, it is worth observing that the gathering together of these diverse essays in a single volume itself indicates a certain consciousness of unity on the part of historians from Canada to Chile and the Río de la Plata.

University of California

JAMES F. KING

GESCHICHTE MITTEL- UND SÜDAMERIKAS. By *Wilhelm Freiherr von Schoen*. [Weltgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen, Band IX.] (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann. 1953. Pp. 698. DM 27.80.)

Germany's contribution to our knowledge of Hispanic America has been considerable. Alexander von Humboldt's description of the New World opened the field, and since then Teutonic scholars have distinguished themselves in such varied spheres as Mexican and Peruvian archaeology, the study of Spanish institutions, literature, and biography, and, of late, the research into immigration problems. The Ibero-Amerikanische Archiv was a center for these investigations, although, under the Nazi regime, it suffered the fate of the inevitable *Gleichschaltung* with all the consequences that political pressure exercises on historical endeavor.

General histories of Latin America have been sparse in Germany, perhaps because only a few universities cared to offer survey courses in this subject. The publication of this volume fills a need and should be welcomed both in Germany and outside her borders as an indication of a renewed awareness of supranational perspectives.

The author, Herr von Schoen, would seem to be well qualified for the complex undertaking of writing what we in this country term a textbook. A diplomat by profession, he spent thirty-six years in the service of the German foreign office, twelve of them in countries of Iberic background. Although he is not a trained historian, the present volume bears witness to a long and sustained reading of both source material and pertinent historical literature.

The book follows the pattern adopted by most of the general works on Latin America. An introductory chapter tries to draw a line of demarcation between prehistoric and historic events on the American continent, without, however, entering into such controversial questions as the origin of the American Indian. The chapter on the Maya culture gives an excellent synthesis of our present

knowledge on the subject, based mostly, but not exclusively, on the work of Sylvanus G. Morley. The information on Aztec and Inca civilizations is equally well rounded and informed.

The second section gives the story of *Entdeckung und Eroberung*. Beginning with the discoveries of Columbus, it finishes surprisingly, though not illogically, with the circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan. The author shows once more, though he occasionally repeats or contradicts himself, that he is familiar with the writings of the outstanding Spanish chroniclers, such as Bernal Díaz and Bishop Landa.

The chapter on the colonial period is also backed by authentic source material. Herr von Schoen does not belong to any definite school of thought on such issues as the merits of the Hispanic colonization. He discusses the *leyendra negra* rather sagaciously, pondering the pros and cons with a good deal of moderation and information.

The independence period is subdivided into three sections. It seems strange, at least to this reviewer, to start with Mexico and to follow with a description of the heroic struggle of Bolívar and San Martín; nevertheless, it must be stated that the analysis of the problems deriving from the independence movement is comprehensive and objective.

The remaining chapters deal with the independent republics of Latin America and adhere to the pattern of most American books on the subject, breaking the story down into the history of twenty nations.

As a diplomat Herr von Schoen shows particular interest in international relations in the Western Hemisphere. He has used *Die Grosse Politik* extensively, and in not a few instances has been able to add interesting, if not essential, details to our knowledge of diplomatic relations between 1871 and 1919.

Since the book was intended for German readers, it does not seem out of place to find the German contributions to the progress of Latin America strongly emphasized. However, this reviewer regards the German background of Schoen's thinking with some apprehension when the author takes up the phenomenon of dictatorship in various Latin-American countries. While the problems of *caudillismo* are scarcely discussed, there is a prevailing tendency to find extenuating circumstances for the rise of the strong man, and to write in eulogistic terms about such men as Rosas, Porfirio Díaz, Garcia Moreno, Juan Vicente Gómez, and others.

Following the standard plan, cultural trends are added to the national histories in the form of a short supplement. Only now and then does Herr von Schoen use the topical approach; the reader will, therefore, get only fragments of the over-all significance of such problems as federalism versus centralism, or state and church—problems which hold great implications for the Latin-American world.

The work is done with considerable care, and this reviewer has found only

minor inaccuracies. The bibliography is limited, according to the author, to the most important works, but seems spotty; the index is comprehensive and should be of real value to the European student.

Sweet Briar College

GERHARD MASUR

* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

General History

THE HISTORIAN'S CRAFT. By Marc Bloch. Introduction by Joseph R. Strayer. Translated from the French by Peter Putnam. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1953, pp. xxi, 197, \$3.00.) *The Historian's Craft* is a translation of *Apologie pour l'Histoire ou Métier d'historien*, and hence is not new to those who have kept up to date on the literature of historiography or who so admired the work of the late Marc Bloch that they let nothing from his pen go unread. For those who might have missed the book, and for coming generations of historians, this English version of France's most recent "introduction to history" will be highly welcome. *The Historian's Craft* was written by Professor Bloch during World War II, while he was in the underground movement, and was not completely finished before his torture and execution at the hands of the invaders. What he left behind was a partially completed first draft, full of wit and wisdom but lacking the polish of his other studies and, most disappointingly of all, failing to present a statement regarding that "synthesis" in historical study for which he and his master, Lucien Febvre, stood. The author here runs over the issues found in such manuals (the influence of Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction aux études historiques* is as usual very apparent), such as evidence, criticism, and causation, and deals with them all with intelligence and with excellent illustrations drawn from his vast knowledge of medieval history, which was his field of concentration, and French history. With his chapter on analysis, however, he attempts something essentially new. It seems to me that here he tries to suggest to the historical student that he make use of all the pertinent concepts, techniques, and methods of the social sciences if he would learn from man's past experience what might be helpful in guiding present human behavior in desired directions. Unfortunately this venture is not a success. Although the task assigned is an enormous one, the fact remains that the sad separation of the social sciences among many faculties in France makes it especially difficult for the French scholar to become competent in many of the social sciences, and Professor Bloch, working alone and from memory, could not overcome the handicap. In brief, it may be said that this little book is a useful prolegomenon to historical study, but that as a blazer of new trails it leaves much to be desired.

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH, *Columbia University*

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. Nineteenth Volume, 1950, including some publications of previous years. Edited for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Lausanne. Published with the assistance of UNESCO and under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1952, pp. xxxv, 348.) American historians should have a special interest in this work, the brain-child of the late J. Franklin Jameson, who conceived it a generation ago as a replacement for the then recently defunct *Historische Zeitschrift*. It has, however, never taken on here, and a recent survey revealed that less than 100 copies per issue are distributed in the United States. This is much to be regretted, for the work chronicles year by year the most important writings covering all phases of history in all Western languages and brings to attention much valuable material in foreign languages which even the most diligent scholar-specialist could not locate on his own. Volume XV, embracing books, articles, and reviews appearing 1940-1946 has not yet been published, but all eighteen others,

1926 through 1950, are still available at low cost and Volume XX (1951) will be out shortly. A complete set would prove amazingly useful in any reference library of importance and is a natural for college and university use. The *Bibliography* is a joint production, with two persons in each co-operating country preparing entries selected from that area's output. The reviewer, who collaborated on the first fifteen volumes, can testify as to the care and immense amount of effort involved—it is, indeed, a labor of love for all concerned. The number of co-operating countries has always fluctuated (pro-Stalin Russian scholars withdrew in a fine fit of rage some years back when foreign-language editions of Trotsky's works were listed!), but thirty-four groups have participated in compiling the present volume which contains 6,543 titles. Guy Stanton Ford and Miss Catharine Seybold have again supplied those from the United States while the Russian ones have once more been provided by non-U.S.S.R. historians. No way has yet been found to include Asiatic language matter. Financing the *Bibliography* has always been a headache (this explains the 1940-1946 hiatus) but UNESCO assistance appears at length to have solved the problem. For this, scholars will be truly grateful.

LOWELL RAGATZ, *Ohio State University*

THE EUROPEAN MIND: THE CRITICAL YEARS (1680-1715). By Paul Hazard, Member of the French Academy. Translated by J. Lewis May. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1953, pp. xx, 454, \$5.50.) This is an English translation of the first two volumes of the well-known work which the late Paul Hazard published in 1935 under the title *La crise de la conscience européenne*. A translation of the book at this time seems quite justified, since it remains the standard treatment of the momentous evolution of French thought from seventeenth-century classicism and absolutism to the rationalism and heterodoxy of the Enlightenment. Likewise, it is probably the most original and best known of Hazard's publications. Since the translator, J. Lewis May, is an author and critic in his own right and has had considerable experience in rendering French texts into English, the translation is graceful and adequate. Thus, the volume is a valuable addition to the English bibliography of European intellectual history. The major drawback of this edition is its total omission of Hazard's third volume of *Notes et références*. It is regrettable that the translator did not include this scholarly apparatus and bring it up to date by listing the titles of various relevant monographs which have been published since the appearance of Hazard's study.

WILLIAM F. CHURCH, *Brown University*

CHRISTIANITY IN EUROPEAN HISTORY. The Riddell Memorial Lectures, 1951. By Herbert Butterfield, Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. (New York, Macmillan, 1953, pp. 63, \$1.75.) The importance of this little book is out of all proportion to its modest size. For several years Professor Butterfield has been writing on the bearing of Christianity on history. He has done so with the perspicacity in asking pertinent questions and the modesty in suggesting answers which befit the historian and inspire confidence. In these lectures he returns to his theme. In the first he deals with "the making of Christendom." Here he has little new to say, but he gives an excellent summary of what is already familiar to experts. In the second, "Christianity and Western Civilization," he frames central and important queries of which every student of recent and contemporary times should take account. Outstanding among these is the inquiry into the reason for the creative dynamism which has been characteristic of Western civilization and from which have issued the revolutionary forces which have been and are reshaping mankind. Whence is it? Is it from Christianity? If so, why has Christianity not had that effect in eastern Europe and western Asia? Why, in wide circles, in the past two centuries and more has the West

been progressively secularized? To what extent if at all is this last causally connected with what to many seems the decline of the West and the coming of a Dark Age, especially in Hitlerism and communism? To these questions Professor Butterfield suggests some possible answers and examines others. The final chapter, "History, Religion, and Ethics," is really a continuation of the second. The book is obviously from the pen of one writing in that Europe which is being shaken by the events of our time and by one who is committed, but not uncritically, to the Christian faith.

KENNETH S. LATOURETTE, *Yale University*

LEOPOLD VON RANKE UND DER HISTORISCHE STIL. By *Hanno Helbling*.

[Zürcher Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Band 16.] (Zurich, J. Weiss, 1953, pp. 196.) The relationship between Ranke's literary style and his philosophy of history has never been scrutinized in detail. The present book boldly ventures out into this complex and elusive subject, which brings together Ranke's guiding conceptions, sources, vocabulary, sentence structure, and general manner of writing. In his preface the author states his intention of penetrating from a close analysis of Ranke's writing to his conception of history. Unfortunately, other interests intrude, such as the question of literary and philosophical influence and of the connection between his personal way of life and his style. Within the limits of his stated purpose the author cannot settle these other questions with finality, although he suggests some interesting perspectives. The main thesis of this book, it seems, is this: As his work progressed from the early histories to the final *Weltgeschichte*, Ranke reshaped his factual materials and his judgments in the light of his ever-expanding historical context. Descriptive technique, the layout of detail, the evaluation of historical figures, the tone of his narrative, all were increasingly determined by the flux of the whole period or the whole development with which he was concerned. This implied a progressive bleaching of all primary colors in his description and a toning down of moral vigor, together with the suppression of all stylistic flourishes. Helbling's analysis is carried through at times with insight, although not always in a convincing manner. Whether this one line of thought embodied in Helbling's thesis can lead to a well-rounded estimate of Ranke's historical style is, of course, another matter. (Would that Helbling had defined what he meant by *der historische Stil*!) In general, the book shows the merits as well as the faults of this genre of German historical research. It lacks clearly defined tools of analysis and an objective basis of judgment. One of the most deplorable effects of *Historismus* upon German historiographical work has been to raise disorderly writing and vague thinking to the dignity of a literary manner. This book contains many interesting suggestions and a useful bibliography, yet it conforms rather too closely to type.

THEODORE H. VON LAUE, *Bryn Mawr College*

SOCIALIST THOUGHT: THE FORERUNNERS, 1789-1850. By *G. D. H. Cole*. [History of Socialist Thought, Volume I.] (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1953, pp. xi, 346, \$5.00.) This is the first of several volumes in which the author proposes to treat socialist thought from the eighteenth century to the present. In this book the account is carried only from Babeuf through the *Communist Manifesto*. The work is based on a thorough knowledge of the material, and it is the first extended account in English which tries to show the development of socialism as a continuous and international movement. As socialist thought before 1840 was largely a French creation, he rightly lays his emphasis there. The author shows that all socialism rests "on a belief in the virtues of collaboration as against competition and of planning as against free enterprise." The speculation of the early Socialists ranged widely, and their theories are hard to classify. Professor Cole's account is clear, but it is written largely without

reference to anything outside the field of socialist thought. Moreover, being constructed as a series of summaries of the thought of individual thinkers, the story does not move ahead with any *élan*. The book is learned, and it is comprehensive, but it is not fresh either in approach or in handling. Though it is obviously a sort of handbook, it should not be assigned to university students who do not know the political and economic history of the period 1800 to 1850. Likewise it will be more rewarding to such students as know at least as much of the general economic and political thought of the times as is to be found in Sir Alexander Gray's *Development of Economic Doctrine* (New York, 1931) and Professor G. H. Sabine's *History of Political Theory* (2d ed., New York, 1950). Professor Cole's account lacks the incisiveness of Gray's brief work *The Socialist Tradition, from Moses to Lenin* (New York, 1946), a really brilliant account, which Cole characterizes patronizingly as "most amusing" (cf. the reviewer's estimate of Gray's work in *Journal of Economic History*, 1947, pp. 87-88). For those with sufficient general knowledge of the period, Professor Cole's account is useful as the only extended treatment of the subject in the English language. There is an admirable critical bibliography attached. FREDERICK B. ARTZ, *Oberlin College*

THE FORGOTTEN REPUBLICS. By Clarence A. Manning, Associate Professor of Slavic Languages, Columbia University. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1952, pp. xii, 264, \$2.75.) *The Forgotten Republics* is a one-volume, unannotated presentation, for the English-reading public, of the annals of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania from ancient times to the present day. As such, it has many of the merits, and suffers from most of the defects, of lack of documentation. Liberation from the ponderous impedimenta of the mechanism of scholarship has given Professor Manning the maximum opportunity to bring into focus materials from widely scattered sources to enliven and add point to the narrative. He has thereby achieved freshness of outlook and a synoptic viewpoint. The volume is written from neither a preponderantly Estonian or Lettish or Lithuanian approach, but with sympathetic insight for all of them. It does not attempt an artificial, synthetic, pan-Baltic approach which would be unrealistic, but does reveal a consistent and persistent anti-Russian outlook. Whatever the aggressions or atrocities of any given century, they are revealed as an old Russian custom. And if the canvas of history is stretched rather tightly to achieve uniformity in the record of Muscovite, imperial Russian, and Soviet duplicity, the narrative has at least the merit of showing that the ethical shortcomings of the present-day rulers in the Kremlin are not the moral lapses of parvenus but the cumulative evidences of inveterate, original sin. To his task Professor Manning has brought deep erudition and intense sympathy, which produce a rich understanding of the aspirations and achievements of each of the Baltic peoples. If anything, he has understated the influence of the Letts (whose *Laufbahn* was brought up to date by the late Dr. Alfred Bilmanis' *History of Latvia* [1951]) and enlarged on less well known phases of Estonian and Lithuanian political developments in the thirties, giving a rather sympathetic interpretation of the so-called "dictatorships" in both countries. The volume ends on a note of urgency: Intervention is needed to preserve "The Forgotten Republics" from utter physical and spiritual annihilation. (To this reviewer the plea sounds not unlike those made in 1919 for the vigorous maintenance of the *cordon sanitaire* but without as much prospect of success.) It is unfortunate that the volume should suffer from a heavy, cumbersome style and from numerous minor errors, particularly regarding the vexed 1918-1919 period. Happily these lapses merely encumber but do not obscure or vitiate an absorbing narrative with keen insight, wide sympathies, and authentic contexts. MALBONE W. GRAHAM, *University of California, Los Angeles*

UNA MANCATA INTESA ITALO-SOVIETICA NEL 1940 E 1941. By Mario Toscano. [Biblioteca della "Rivista di studi politici internazionali" in Firenze, Seconda Serie V.] (Florence, G. C. Sansoni, 1953, pp. 144, L. 800.) The thought, scholarship, and truly astonishing industry of Professor Toscano are well known to students of diplomatic history. This monograph is a sequel of his *L'Italia e gli accordi tedesco-sovietici dell'agosto 1939*, written but a few months previously. Toscano is co-editor of, as well as the moving spirit behind, the publication of the *Documenti diplomatici italiani* series, select documents of which form the basis of this monograph. They will be part of the forthcoming Volumes III, IV, and V of the ninth series of the Italian documents. Their contents, revealing and often fascinating, include the Rosso-Molotov conversations of June 14, June 19, December 30, 1940, and of January 27, February 24, 1941; the Rosso letters and memorandums of November 13, 1939, and of June 22, September 3, 1940; the Ciano instructions to Rosso of December 28, 1940, and to Alfieri of January 1, 1941; and the Mussolini instructions to Cosmelli of January 29, 1941. From the study of this monograph two considerations of great importance emerge. One concerns Soviet Russian diplomacy. For this monograph again illustrates, with astonishing vividness, how little Russian diplomacy is motivated by ideological considerations; how very Russian and how little doctrinaire and Marxist; how territorially minded and imperialistic, and how really antirevolutionary this diplomacy was, at least under Stalin. Such monographs as this, and their insights into Russian diplomatic history, are far better guideposts for the study of, and for intelligence about, Russian affairs than ideological exhortations and dreary textbooks with their ponderous scrutiny of Marxist doctrine. It is indeed sad that this does not seem to be adequately realized even in places (like the bibliography of *Foreign Affairs*) where one would expect it to be. The distilled historical value of this study lies in its final confirmation of previous indications by secondary sources, by some memoirs, and by the Ciano papers, about potential and close relations between Fascist Italy and Communist Russia in 1939-41 (which, ultimately, led to Mussolini's obsessions, and his urgings, in 1943-44, that the Axis make a separate peace with Russia). Three times, in the winter of 1939, in the high summer of 1940, and in the winter of 1940-41, the Russians approached the Italians with a solicitude that was truly amazing. They aimed for a clear, sphere-of-interest deal between two Machiavellian states. That Mussolini let these singular opportunities drop is another story. It does not diminish the historical significance of these Russian diplomatic endeavors. The story is told, and the conclusions appraised, with the usual Latin clarity and historical judiciousness of Toscano. It should, finally, serve as a spur to further studies.

JOHN A. LUKACS, *Chestnut Hill and La Salle Colleges*

THE SUEZ CANAL IN WORLD AFFAIRS. By Hugh J. Schonfield. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1953, pp. x, 174, \$4.50.) If one may judge from the quotation that introduces Mr. Schonfield's work, his purpose is to teach those who are "out of their depth" where the Suez Canal is concerned, to negotiate its somewhat murky waters. The book is a popularization by an author already known for his light studies of Lesseps and his handiwork: *Ferdinand de Lesseps, Italy and Suez, The Suez Canal*. Mr. Schonfield begins his story back in Pharaonic times, when the Nile was joined for the first time to the Red Sea, and rapidly sketches developments to the modern era. The history of the present-day canal is given in greater detail: early French interest and projects; English mail service and railway enterprise in the isthmus; the career of Lesseps and the story of the concession; and finally, the hard and successful fight of Lesseps to dig the trench in the face of British hostility. The story of Disraeli's coup

in grabbing up the khedive's shares provides the transition from the history of the canal proper to that of its place in Mediterranean and world affairs. The author examines in turn various highlights of the subject, among them Franco-British rivalry in Egypt, the German *Drang nach Osten*, and the growing problem created by Italian ambitions in Africa. There is a further glance at the development and operation of the canal itself, and the volume closes with some reflections on the very lively current difficulties between Egypt and Britain. The result is a well-paced, readable book. Its major weaknesses are, first, a tendency to describe international rivalries with so much sympathy for both sides—the only people who will possibly be hurt by Mr. Schonfield are some die-hard German and Italian imperialists—that conflicting interests seem no more than misunderstandings; and second, a willingness to take the loudly proclaimed altruism of Lesseps and the Canal Company at face value from beginning to end. This is not a book for the historian; but the layman will find it a useful survey of a very controversial story.

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ: THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ATHENIANS. By the Old Oligarch and by Aristotle. A New Interpretation by *Livio Catullo Stecchini*. (Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1950, pp. 112, \$2.50.) In the brief space of 112 pages the author has included translations of these two works, an introduction on the authorship, date, and purpose of each, and some scattered comments "in the main limited to the purpose of justifying my own interpretation to the scholar." The translations are chiefly intended for use in general courses by students who cannot easily read Greek. That of the Old Oligarch is based on the text of Hartvig Frisch, that of the Constitution of Athens on those of Sandys and Oppermann. It is useful to have such translations available at reasonable cost, but these should be used with some care. For example, on page 74 at line 3 a whole clause has apparently been omitted (*Ath. Pol.* 35.3, end). On page 75, line 8, the translation reads "to put an end to the factional split," but in the Greek text the word represented by "factional split" is *πᾶλιμος*. In the commentary on the amnesty of 403 (note 30) the author remarks that the amnesty was "an application of the ancestral practices for the purgation of homicide which aimed at putting an end to vengeance by reconciliation. A trial was one of the means by which this reconciliation could be achieved. . . ." But what the

Aristotelian treatise immediately records is the execution without due process of a citizen who was violating the amnesty, presumably by initiating a prosecution. The discussion of the crisis of 411 makes no mention of Miss Lang's study in the *American Journal of Philology*, 1948. All commentaries must now take account of the severely critical approach of Hignett to the Aristotelian treatise in his recent *History of the Athenian Constitution* (Oxford, 1952). Moreover, the author arrives rather easily at his conclusions regarding the Old Oligarch: that the treatise was written late in 431 (but see the arguments of Gomme in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Supplement I, 1940), and that the author was none other than "Thucydides the son of Melesias, almost certainly the grandfather of Thucydides the historian." The literary form, he holds, is that of an oration, the organization that of a medical treatise. All in all, the author should have given us either less or more: either simply a translation or else a more extended and thorough commentary.

T. R. S. B.

TIMOLEON AND HIS RELATIONS WITH TYRANTS. By *H. D. Westlake*. [Publications of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Manchester, No. 5.] (Manchester, Eng., Manchester University Press, 1952, pp. ix, 61, 7s.6d.) Professor Westlake continues in this little monograph his studies of the tradition of Timoleon, singling out one aspect of this subject, the relations of Timoleon with the tyrants in Sicily, with an appendix on Timophanes, Timoleon's brother, the would-be tyrant of Corinth whom he slew. The author believes that Timoleon's own propaganda, the praises of the Sicilians for their liberator, the laudations of Timaeus, and Plutarch's interest in fortune and virtue have combined to create a Timoleon legend which has prevented due recognition of his determination during eight years of sometimes doubtful struggle, his astuteness, and his lack of scruple in his methods of dealing with tyrants. Doubtless he was aided by fortune, as at the battle of Adranos or when the Carthaginians withdrew from Syracuse, but he was ready to use surprise, to exploit divisions among his opponents, and to improvise as occasion arose. Professor Westlake has made a good case for his correction of the tenor of the tradition. Note that he accepts from Plutarch 344 as the date of the occupation of Ortygia and from Diodorus 343 as the date for the final abdication of Dionysius.

T. R. S. B.

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Modern European History

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

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SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FORCES IN THE ENGLISH REFORMATION. By *Conyers Read*, Emeritus Professor of English History, University of Pennsylvania. [The Rockwell Lectures, Rice Institute.] (Houston, Tex., Elsevier Press, 1953, pp. 88, \$2.00.) In these engaging lectures Professor Read gives us a popular account of the English Reformation. The title of the book is misleading, for in so short a compass it is almost impossible either to isolate the social and political from the religious factors or to evaluate such forces. There are three chapters: "The Break from Rome," "The Anglican Settlement," and "Puritanism," the latter discussing the Elizabethan settlement. As was to be expected, problems of condensation have been met with great skill and resourcefulness. The Reformation period is subject to constant reinterpretation and no general description can be expected to satisfy all scholars in the field. Though Professor Read comes near to performing the impossible, several differing points of view may be indicated by way of example. Few would question the definition of Puritanism as an "attitude of mind"; but it could be argued that not all Puritans were Calvinists by choice. Some scholars (Trinterud, for example) have argued that the influence of the Rhineland Reformers asserted itself with equal strength, at least until the middle of Elizabeth's reign. Again, while the emphasis on Cranmer as the real architect of the Anglican Settlement is a welcome one, there is room for argument about the archbishop's view of the mass as a miracle. While these lectures give the impression that he was consistent, T. M. Parker believes that after 1548 Cranmer became increasingly convinced of the validity of the Zwinglian position. However, such vexed problems of interpretation can have no place in a concise narration of so vast a movement. Nor should such arguments be allowed to detract from the excellence of the general picture of the English Reformation which Professor Read has sketched.

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LOCKE'S TRAVELS IN FRANCE, 1675-1679, AS RELATED IN HIS JOURNALS, CORRESPONDENCE, AND OTHER PAPERS. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by *John Lough*, Professor of French in the Durham Colleges, University of

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Durham. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1953, pp. lxvi, 309, \$8.00.) This book makes available in a critical edition another large section of the four manuscript volumes of Locke's journals describing his travels and experiences in France during the years 1675-1679. These journals, because of the difficulties in deciphering Locke's shorthand as well as his orthography, have been little used. Students have heretofore largely depended upon the uncritical and, it now appears, inaccurate selections made by Lord King in 1829 (*The Life of John Locke with Extracts from His Correspondence, Journals, and Common-Place Books*), and the philosophical selections published by R. I. Aaron and J. Gibb in 1936 (*An Early Draft of Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding together with Excerpts from His Journals*). Professor Lough's compilation, while admittedly still incomplete, does expand the picture of Locke's experiences and at the same time provides information important to the social and economic historians of seventeenth-century France. Locke's two trips into southern France (1675-77 and 1678-79) took him on a big circle from Paris down the Rhone Valley to the Mediterranean and then westward to Montpellier, Montauban, Bordeaux, and via the Loire back to Paris. When he first arrived in France Locke's knowledge of French was fragmentary, but by the end of his first year he was able to talk to peasants in the Languedoc patois as well as to intellectuals in Parisian French. There is adequate internal evidence of his ability to make observations and collect evidence to give his notes real value as a record of the civilization that he saw before him. Since the observer was John Locke, this is probably not surprising. All manner of things attracted his attention, but he was primarily interested in methods of cultivation, manufacturing processes, conditions of commerce, weights and measures, and recipes for all sorts of concoctions, from a new kind of soup to medication for killing lice. It might prove difficult to try out many of his household hints or the chemical and industrial processes since cat's fat, Brayson's chalk, powdered snails' shells, and many other substances called for are somewhat hard to find in twentieth-century U.S.A. Nonetheless, the notes on scientific instruments, methods of printing and binding books, varieties of fruit trees (some of which he sent to England), and a host of other such things give valuable insight into aspects of French life in the period. Locke did not go to see many of the things that attract the twentieth-century tourist. He was uninterested in medieval cathedrals though avidly anxious to meet members of the Reformed religion. He hardly mentions the Roman ruins of the south but was interested in the canal that was to link the Atlantic with the Mediterranean. He followed the practical rather than the colorful aspects of everyday life. Parts of these journals are disappointing because of their omissions, but on the whole we should be grateful for the picture of the land that Locke gave us.

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GENERALS AND ADMIRALS: THE STORY OF AMPHIBIOUS COMMAND. By John Creswell, Captain, R.N. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1952, pp. viii, 192, \$4.00.) The regular officers of the Royal Navy seem to have an inclination and aptitude for writing good history that has scant counterpart in the United States Navy, even among those assigned to duty in naval history. Captain Creswell had already produced in 1950 his *Sea Warfare, 1939-1945: a Short History*, while Captain Russell Grenfell has written his *The Bismarck Episode and Main Fleet to Singapore*, and others have added further to the impressive total. Whereas the amphibious studies of Vagts and of Isely and Crowl devote considerable attention to techniques, Creswell is primarily concerned with the command relationship. His book analyzes more than a dozen amphibious operations in which the British have participated, all the way from "Howard and Essex at Cadiz" in 1596 down to "General Eisenhower's Commands" and the Pacific operations in World War II. There is a vivid contrast between

the Vernon-Wentworth mess at Cartagena in 1740 and the brilliant co-operation between Wolfe and Saunders—a deliberately hand-picked pair—at Quebec nineteen years later. The story jumps from the Walcheren blundering of 1809, which led to the doggerel verse about Lord Chatham and Sir Richard Strachan, down to Gallipoli where the inter-service co-operation on the spot is described as very good. In all these case histories, Creswell analyzes the nature of the commanders themselves, the orders which they received, and the way in which they carried them out. Nearly every one of them was a “joint” command until one gets down to the Eisenhower and Pacific “unified” commands in the late war. The author clearly favors the former in most cases, and states bluntly that the American over-all commands were set up because of the strong antagonism between the services in this country.

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

PRICE CONTROL AND THE REIGN OF TERROR: FRANCE, 1793-1795. By William Finley Shepard. [University of California Publications in History, Volume XLV.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953, pp. 139, cloth \$3.00, paper \$2.00.) Following closely the ideas of Albert Mathiez on the French economic policies of 1793-95, the present work is too derivative to offer any independent confirmation of his views. Nor does it replace or amend the work of Seymour Harris on *The Assignats* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930). The author seems to have asked himself no new questions, nor does he propound any new answers. In the treatment of inflation, price control and decontrol, the emphasis falls on the class interests concerned or believed

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

to be concerned, and political speeches are extensively reported. There is less attention to substantive conditions; nor is any use made of statistical methods or pertinent branches of economic or monetary theory. Perhaps the author has been allowed, or obliged, to publish prematurely, owing to institutional or professional pressures; in any case, what the work mainly shows is that its author has personally learned a great deal about the French Revolution.

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MARIE LOUISE VON ÖSTERREICH, KAISERIN DER FRANZOSEN, HERZOGIN VON PARMA. By *Jean de Bourgoing*. (Vienna, Bergland, 1953, pp. 655.) Bourgoing, the Franco-Austrian nobleman and historian who recently edited the important correspondence between Emperor Francis Joseph and his friend, Frau von Schratt, and who, using new sources, carefully chronicled and commented on the Congress of Vienna, has now written an excellent biography of the second empress of the French. The daughter of Francis I of Austria was neither a beauty nor a particularly gifted woman. The author, who has delved with much diligence in the different archives and has unearthed hitherto unknown documents, is, however, able to show that a large part of the many accusations directed against her were unjustified. The jealousies of the Bonaparte family as well as the friends of the former empress Josephine were constantly working against her. We see the Austrian clique, i.e., Emperor Francis, Metternich, and Marie-Louise herself, hard at work to bring about an understanding between Napoleon and the allies—even after Leipzig—that the Bonaparte throne may be kept basically intact. The author explains from his vast source material the reasons why the imperial couple became estranged, and he appraises the characters of the counts Neipperg and Bombelles. As duchess of Parma the former empress shows the qualities of a rather wise and humane regent who did not lose her sound judgment or her innate courage during the revolution of 1831. Her relationship with her son was charged with problems Freud would have found difficult enough and which were more than that for the Habsburg court. On the personality of the later duke of Reichstedt too, Bourgoing writes as one of the best informed historians, since he edited the diaries of Baron Moll, the aide-de-camp of the young prince. It is interesting that the reputation of Napoleon's second wife worsened considerably after her death, while her contemporaries showed her sympathy and understanding. Himself a great-grandson of Napoleon's marshal, Macdonald, Bourgoing is an excellent and well-informed writer. The publisher also deserves our gratitude for using interesting and for the most part unknown illustrations.

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RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

Sergius Yakobson¹

THE AMERICAN EXPEDITION. By *Sven Waxell*. Translated from Johan Skalberg's Danish version, and an Introduction and Note, by *M. A. Michael*. (Edinburgh, William Hodge; New York, Macmillan, 1952, pp. 236, \$3.00.) This volume presents an addition to the sources of our knowledge of the second Bering voyage, beyond what was included in the late Professor F. A. Golder's two volumes under the title *Bering's Voyages* (1922-25). The manuscript of Lt. Sven Waxell, a Swede who spent sixteen years with the expedition, ending his service as its commander, after the death of Captain Bering in 1741, was found in 1938 and translated into Danish by Johan Skalberg from a photostat copy of the manuscript in the State Library in Leningrad. M. A. Michael translated the Danish edition and wrote the introduction and note. The result is an excellent edition in English by one who knows how to translate with a rare style and insight. Actually the Waxell account supplements in many places and in others goes beyond the Steller journal. It is a strictly factual account of the voyage by a simple, straightforward seaman. It is more level-headed, less opinionated, and undoubtedly more truthful than Steller's. Its reliability becomes evident as the story of unimaginable privations unfolds. The long illness and demise of Captain Bering, the tragic mistake of following Professor de la Croyère's map founded on "false and unfounded information," and the devastating experiences of the last winter stranded on the island—these and others give us a true insight into the expedition. Those who are interested also in the advance of this expedition of three thousand men across Siberia to the Pacific will find, as this reviewer has, that Waxell's description confirms and supplements our previous knowledge of the river and land trails which men used in crossing that part of the Asian continent. Especially the route from Yakutsk to Okhotsk through the Yudoma Pass is clarified as it has never been before. The translator-editor is to be congratulated for making available a source of this importance.

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer¹

WORLD WITHOUT END: THE MIDDLE EAST. By *Emil Lengyel*. (New York, John Day, 1953, pp. 374, \$5.00.) This book by a professor of education at New York University is perhaps the latest in English on the Middle East. Its aim is to survey life as it is and as it has been in this "poorhouse of the world," this "kitchen of religions." It is written for the "average" reader, and it is barely an average work, for such headings as "Eyeless in Gaza," "All or Nothing," "A Midsummer Night's Dream," and expressions like "He never had it so good" (p. 327, referring to the \$14,000,000 annual royalties received by the sheik of Qatar) do not add much to an author's scholarly reputation. His first-hand knowledge of certain countries serves him well, but that does not seem to be the sole reason for showering upon Israel and Turkey more than their share of praise. His indignation about social, economic, and political inequalities in these countries is understandable, and his account of widespread poverty in the midst of abundance in certain countries is clear. But his prescription for the solution of the multiple problems of the Middle East, to be administered under our guidance, as expounded on pages 354-62, borders on quackery. He alleges that in the past the British and the French have supported corrupt governments in the Middle East. We should not commit such blunders; our efforts and good will should not be wasted; "our money should not get stuck in pasha pockets." Instead, "we should lend our help to give a chance to every person who deserves it" (p. 356). There it is, but "ay, there's the rub." In his effort to oversimplify many complex problems of the Middle East Mr. Lengyel sometimes offers opinions as facts; other times misstatements are qualified by parenthetical statements (on p. 142, for example) ascribing these to the press; and in a few cases inaccuracies become ludicrous. There is no evidence that "in mid-1952 more than forty million dollars of Point Four money was available for Iran" (p. 276). Actually the total earmarked for the entire Middle East and African region was about \$38,000,000. The statement that "only 2 per cent of the land of Iran is fit for use and not more than a fifth of that is under cultivation" (p. 67) is not at all accurate. More startling is his statement that "the relation of the Koran to the spoken tongues [in Arab countries] is similar to that of Latin to the 'vulgar' languages of Italians, Iberians and the French" (p. 197). This is simply absurd.

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MIDDLE EAST DILEMMAS: THE BACKGROUND OF UNITED STATES POLICY.

By J. C. Hurewitz. (New York, Harper and Brothers for Council on Foreign Relations, 1953, pp. xiv, 273, \$3.75.) Many parts of the Middle East are either hostile or indifferent to the United States and unwilling to participate in any broad plan for area socio-economic improvement or collective security against Russian expansionism. The failure to sense the values of the one and the necessity for the other is usually considered to be due to errors of commission and omission by Western policy makers, as well as to internal conflicts—intra- and interstate—for which European powers are held to be at least partially responsible. In an attempt to clarify the problems confronting Americans, Professor Hurewitz first elaborates the historical background of the major events and crises that occurred from the early nineteenth century and then examines the origin and character of American involvement, with particular emphasis on the post-World War II period. As a political chronicle, the book is successful; for it includes almost everything of importance and is related with accuracy and objectivity. The dense compilation of dates and data is made tolerable by a brisk and lucid style of writing. However, the nonspecialist, whom the author had primarily in mind, will not put the book down with a full comprehension of the difficulties facing the State Department. Intergovernmental relations in the Middle East, as elsewhere, rest ultimately on the nature and aspirations of their peoples. In order to understand why the dilemmas in this area are so sharp and intractable, we must know much more about it than the external political history. Equally important, for instance, are the family and social structure of the population, psychology, and religion. The nature and dimensions of the problems, not to mention possible methods of solving them, cannot be grasped until there is a full appreciation, for example, of the impact made on the Persian mind by Western ideas and technology, the traditional attitude of Moslems toward Jews, the dynamics of Arab nationalism (significantly different in several respects from that in Europe or even the Far East), the role of Islam, dynastic and other conflicts in the Arab world. These are but lightly touched by the author. Relying, moreover, wholly on Western language material, he has presented essentially the European view. In dealing with foreign peoples it is evident that their image of America—true, false, or distorted—must be reckoned with.

S. G.

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Far Eastern History

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SELECTIONS FROM ORME MANUSCRIPTS. Edited by *Diwan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachariar*. (Annamalainagar, S. India, Annamalai University, 1952, pp. xxv, 394, 15s.) The editor properly introduces his readers to the historian, Robert Orme, and to his book, *Indostan*. The brief biography stresses Orme's relationships with the men who fought the war in the Carnatic. The equally brief summary of *Indostan* reviews the outstanding facts in the familiar story of Dupleix and Clive, d'Aché and Pocock, Lally and Pigot. The source materials included in this volume, however, do not reflect the breadth of coverage suggested by the editor's introduction. Approximately two thirds of the selected sources address themselves to the intimate details descriptive of the unsuccessful French siege of Trichinopoly (Tritchnapoly). One source covers French and British peace talks carried on in 1753-54 in London with a view to ending the armed conflict on the Coromandel coast of India in times of ostensible peace between England and France. The English sources recording the siege of Fort St. David and its capitulation to the French in 1758 appear at the end of the volume. The editor is to be congratulated upon his inclusion of most helpful detailed notes in analysis of points of difficulty appearing in the original texts. The

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

omission both of an index of proper names and of maps and plans illustrating the military operations described is the only notable criticism of this valuable volume of source material.

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

BY LAND AND BY SEA: ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES. By *Samuel Eliot Morison*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1953, pp. 359, iv, \$5.00.) In this *Auslese* from occasional papers and addresses of the past forty years the rear admiral-professor illustrates what he preaches explicitly in his paper called "History as a Literary Art," namely, sound history and good writing. As becomes the title of his volume he moves as surely on land as on water. The tempo of his writing rises when he smells salt air and "sees the sails conceive and grow big bellied with the wanton wind." The essay on the "Clipper Ships of Massachusetts" illustrates this with writing spirited enough to stir a landlubber and to imprint in his memory the name of Donald McKay, the distinguished designer. Written equally *con amore* is the passage where the author stands on the deck of the *Mayflower* and issues the orders that brought it safely into Provincetown Harbor. The shade of Master Jones must have murmured, "Well done, Professor" as the author's pen drops the anchor and the little ship makes sternway. The fifteen papers are grouped under four headings: maritime; biographical; saints, scholars and sinners; history and historians; with the Oxford introductory lecture "A Prologue to American History" for full measure. As space does not permit individual comment, mostly commendatory, it is permissible to suggest that Professor Morison excels in presenting familiar topics treated by others and by himself in detail in a way that brings out clearly what you dimly knew by much reading. This is evident in the freshness without dramatics of the essays on the young Washington, Elbridge Gerry, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson, and the Pilgrim Fathers. Vanishing traditions, especially about the last, are firmly dismissed to the historical limbo. Courses in historical methods are derided (he evidently never sat in Professor Haskins' course), but method is illustrated in the sketch of Professor Channing, in his presidential address, both self-revealing, and in the critique of Charles Beard. The latter bears its justification in the substance, which needed to be said, but not in its title, "History through a Beard." This title was far too cute when it appeared in August, 1948, as Beard was dying. Its retention now is sheer bad taste. The final word is one of commendation for a type of book that too often seems musty and jejune. If I were teaching a course in methodology I should, with the publisher's and author's approval, make some of these essays required reading.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Washington, D.C.*

PARKMAN'S HISTORY: THE HISTORIAN AS LITERARY ARTIST. By *Otis A. Pease*. [The Wallace Notestein Essays, Volume I.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1953, pp. xi, 86, \$3.00.) From Farnham and Sedgwick to Mason Wade, writers who have treated Francis Parkman extensively have typically found themselves challenged more by the historian than by the histories. Mr. Pease has gone counter to that trend. He has written a little book about Parkman's books of history, and has done so with an excellent mixture of sensitivity and enthusiasm. Mr. Pease departs from the tradition chiefly in rejecting the Great Man theory as an explanation of Parkman's philosophy of history. He argues vigorously and for the most part convincingly that Parkman valued character in man for its own sake and not because he considered it exclusively critical in determining events. Mr. Pease points out also that Parkman

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

went beyond his treatment of men by erecting a full structure of historical events which did not depend on identifying the men or what they did. Indeed, 200 pages of *The Old Regime*, finished in 1874, may be considered one of the pioneer institutional histories in American scholarship. The picture of Parkman the historian which emerges from this book is of a writer little influenced by the ferment in historical scholarship seething around him. "His last book," says Mr. Pease, "differed from his first in ways explicable by reference to Parkman's maturing literary facility, and by little else." Parkman presented his facts so as to emphasize the most colorful and dramatic episodes, and the exploits of vigorous men. These episodes and exploits were held together by a skein of themes which were especially interesting to Parkman—explorers and the wilderness, the Catholic universe (in which the seventeenth-century explorer-priests served him as heroes and the eighteenth-century political-priests as villains), leaders and their heroism, and the web of institutional and economic fact. Mr. Pease hurries over but does not ignore Parkman's deficiencies—for example, the fact Henry Adams pointed out, that he did not "file and burnish and cut"; his doubtful biological and psychological assumptions (for instance, the superiority of the male sex, and the belief that some races and not others were fit for freedom); and the melodramatic cast of certain pages. But over and above these defects, Pease argues, Parkman's greatness stands firm on his ability to "impart to the exposition and analysis of great historical movements the vividness and flexibility of imaginative writing." Parkman was made for military action and knew it, said Van Wyck Brooks; and if he could not live that life, the one substitute left him was to write it. Mr. Pease comes close to this same position in explaining the quality of the writing. Parkman, he says, wrote "with the relish of one who craved similar adventure for himself." All through his life the presence of the wilderness, remembered from his early travels, remained with him, and his vivid imagination succeeded in ever narrowing the gap between that remembered experience and the framework of historical actuality.

WILBUR SCHRAMM, *University of Illinois*

THE AMERICAN WAY: THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF OUR CIVILIZATION. By Shepard B. Clough. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1953, pp. viii, 246, \$3.00.)

HISTOIRE ECONOMIQUE DES ETATS-UNIS DEPUIS LA GUERRE DE SÉCESSION (1865-1952). By Shepard B. Clough. (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1953, pp. viii, 201, 800 fr.) These two volumes are the outgrowth of a series of lectures on the economic history of the United States since the Civil War which Shepard Clough gave at the Institut d'Etudes politiques of the University of Paris. They undertake to delineate the distinguishing characteristics of America's economic development over a period of almost a century and to identify the major causal factors responsible for present-day production levels and standards of living unequaled by any other nation. Professor Clough's volumes are patently not designed for the serious student of economic history. To the latter they will appear to cover quite familiar ground, to settle too readily for simple answers to troublesome questions of historical causation, and to invite misunderstandings because of their compressed treatment of a subject of enormous dimensions. For the uninitiated but literate layman, both American and European, however, Professor Clough performs a real service. He offers a readable introduction to a historical development the fruits of which are today taken too much for granted, provides an analytical framework which should encourage independent reflection, and presents pertinent data in usable form. He does, moreover, convey a sense of the primary importance and the grandeur which attach to the growth of the American economy. Most of *The American Way* is a translation of

Histoire économique des Etats-Unis, but the differences between the two volumes are sufficient to justify comment. The first contains material lacking in the second and is somewhat differently organized. It is also marked by an occasional nationalistic observation which does not appear in the French version. More important, however, is the degree of attention given in *The American Way*, and not in the French volume, to the thesis which the author develops in his *The Rise and Fall of Civilization*, namely, that "peaks of economic well-being have accompanied or preceded those periods which are regarded as the peaks of civilization in various cultures." In contending that "America has the economic potential for great [cultural] accomplishments," Professor Clough raises a series of normative questions of a philosophical and aesthetic order which cannot be adequately pursued within the scope of the economic survey he is presenting.

HENRY DAVID, *Queens College*

THE COMPLETE MADISON: HIS BASIC WRITINGS. Edited and with an Introduction by *Saul K. Padover*, Dean, School of Politics, New School for Social Research. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1953, pp. ix, 361, \$4.00.) Recent scholarship, notably Irving Brant's multivolumed biography, promises to place Madison where he belongs—solidly beside Jefferson and Hamilton. As a systematic political thinker, he surpasses these eminent contemporaries. Mr. Padover's admirable collection, stressing Madison's thought rather than his action, supports this judgment. Madison rarely failed to shift his position when the ground he was standing on went soft. Is this the mark of weakness or of strength? Was Madison guilty, in any event, of "undue pliability, not to say serviceability," as some one has said, in the presence of a great and commanding figure? I think not. Throughout Madison was an unremitting advocate of free government, "republican constitutionalism," to use Mr. Padover's phrase. During the formative years of our constitutional development, the nature and scope of these principles permitted him to serve as Hamilton's ally and collaborator. When, after 1790, he became an ardent Jeffersonian, Hamilton complained bitterly that he knew "for a certainty" that the enhancement of national power had been previously "a primary article" in Madison's creed. Hamilton's complaint was natural, but he had not understood the Virginian's central principle—"moderation and balance." For Madison, man is neither inherently good, nor inherently bad. Like Reinhold Neibuhr, he believed that just as man's capacity for justice makes free government possible, just so man's capacity for injustice makes free government necessary. The main purpose, he said, is to defend "liberty against power, power against licentiousness, and . . . [to keep] every portion of power within its proper limits. Thus Madison's basic philosophy of "balance" is somewhat at odds with Jefferson's major emphasis on limited government and its responsiveness to the popular will, as well as with Hamilton's bias toward special consolidated, coercive power in the national government. The theory to which Madison gave the full weight of his influence is more flexible than that of either Hamilton or Jefferson. The suggestive headings around which the editor arranges Madison's writings reflect cautious qualification: "The majority is not necessarily right"; "The propertied minority ought to be protected"; "Unrestrained majorities produce despotism"; "Federal and State Balance"; "Checks and Balances among Departments"; etc. For readers inclined to query as misleading the comprehensive title, Mr. Padover explains that the word "complete" is used to suggest that the volume contains "the essence of Madison's writings," "his basic thought." Though one may query the editor's decision to concentrate his selections in the five-year period 1787-1792, or raise the usual questions about works of this sort, no one is likely to deny the need for a handy volume of Madison's writings, or that the editor has done a creditable job in bringing them together. The scholar may, however, wonder why,

despite all the laborious and conclusive research that has been given to the disputed authorship of America's political classic, the *Federalist*, Mr. Padover should still be uncertain whether Hamilton or Madison wrote essay 51. A glance at what the latter wrote under point 11 of his *Political Views*, etc., or what he said on the floor of the Federal Convention and on numerous other occasions, should have served to resolve all doubt.

ALPHEUS THOMAS MASON, *Princeton University*

BARON KLINKOWSTRÖM'S AMERICA, 1818-1820. Translated and Edited by *Franklin D. Scott*. [Northwestern University Studies, Social Sciences Series Number 8.] (Evanston, Ill., Northwestern University Press, 1952, pp. xiv, 262, \$5.00.) Baron Klinkowström, an officer on the Swedish naval staff, visited the United States during the years 1818-1820 to study the steamboat and its possible utilization by his navy. As a by-product of his visit he published the letters under review, feeling that Europeans ought to become better acquainted with the rapidly developing republic in the West. American ingenuity—"this nation's amazing mechanical genius and talent for invention"—impressed him deeply. So did the friendly spirit and freedom from suspicion which met him everywhere. "In America they know nothing of opinion-police; one may speak what and how he wishes; thoughts are not subject to police inquiry. The foreigner is not exposed to troublesome, sneaky, dangerous investigations." But he also found things to criticize. There were bumptious citizens who never failed to proclaim the advantages of their country "with typical American emphasis." Men gobbled their food, ate with hats on, crossed their legs even in the company of President Monroe, and took a "stiff, republican attitude" toward the fairer sex. While the United States was making steady progress toward power, the author sensed danger for the future in a growing sectionalism. Already, he warned, there was a dangerous jealousy between the slaveowning and the free states, and a serious rivalry was developing between East and West. The English version as presented by Professor Scott is not merely a translation but is in some respects also a "rewrite job." Irrelevant sections have been deleted, and the cumbersome, diffuse style has been simplified without sacrificing the meaning of the original. The volume is an interesting addition to the literature dealing with American life during the "Era of Good Feeling."

CLARENCE A. CLAUSEN, *St. Olaf College*

VOYAGE EN ICARIE: DEUX OUVRIERS VIENNOIS AUX ETATS-UNIS EN 1855. Edited by *Fernand Rude*. Preface by André Siegfried. [Université de Grenoble, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres, no. 5.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1952, pp. x, 308.) The founding of the Icarian Community in 1848 brought a new element into the history of American socialism. The Owenites and Fourierists of the preceding quarter century had been genuine believers in decentralization. They pictured the society of the future as a loose federation of virtually self-sufficient small communities, and they looked neither to governmental edicts nor to revolutionary duress. Etienne Cabet (1788-1856), the founder of Icaria, could make no such claim. His *Voyage en Icarie* (1840) was a blueprint for a monolithic socialist state, and he himself had been schooled as a leader in the militantly revolutionary secret societies of the July Monarchy. In trimming his plans to fit a tiny colony, Cabet was unable to divest them of their rigidly doctrinaire character, which encouraged both an authoritarian concept of leadership and an uncompromising ideological factionalism. The consequences in practice were recorded by two sympathetic but independent-minded participants, whose travel journals are here published for the first time. Both writers were workingmen from the French textile-manufacturing town of Vienne (just south of Lyons). One, Jean-François Crétinon, was a 36-year-old printer; the

other, François-Marie Lacour, a 20-year-old hatter. Fellow workers from Vienne had joined earlier waves of Icarian emigration (including the very first in 1848), and finally, on February 1, 1855, Crétinon and Lacour, with their families, embarked at Le Havre for the voyage to Icaria—by this time located at Nauvoo, Illinois. Less than eight months later they were back again in Europe, each acknowledging himself "*tout à fait désillusionné et désenchanté de la vie communautaire*" (p. 167). The bitter factionalism they discovered among the Icarians en route to the promised land began this process of disillusionment. It was completed by three months' residence in the colony, from mid-April to mid-July. More impressive even than their descriptions of actual conditions at Icaria are their reflections upon the kind of life that a communistic system requires its members to lead. These sober workingmen were disenchanted, not driven into frenzied reaction by their experiences at Icaria. They questioned neither the motives nor the good faith of Cabet, and they did not repudiate their belief in liberal social reform. They simply became convinced that communism was incompatible with liberty, that it engendered irreconcilable conflicts, and hence that it was a false path to social betterment. The system, wrote Crétinon, required "*men-machines instead of thinking and inquiring men*" (p. 163). In his introduction and notes, Fernand Rude draws upon the extensive studies he has made of the labor movement and the Revolution of 1848 in southeastern France. Especially valuable are his illuminating comments on Cabet and mid-nineteenth-century communism in general. His interpretation is that of a conscientious and reflective scholar who understands and admires the social idealism of a century ago yet refuses to close his eyes, as earlier historians often did, to the menacing totalitarianism implicit in many of its systems.

ARTHUR E. BESTOR, JR., *University of Illinois*

THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN HENRY STEPHENS RANDALL AND HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY, 1856-1861. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Frank J. and Frank W. Klingberg. [University of California Publications in History, Volume XLIII.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1952, pp. ix, 196, \$3.00.) Hugh Blair Grigsby, a minor Virginia historical writer of the mid-nineteenth century, is known chiefly for his *Virginia Convention of 1776*. Henry Stephens Randall, whose life span covered nearly the same years, was an educator, as well as an agriculturist of some distinction. The work for which he will be remembered, however, is the excellent, if bombastic and partisan, *Life of Thomas Jefferson*, written nearly 100 years ago. He had the great good fortune of being able to consult Jefferson's private papers before they had been dispersed, and he made full use of this opportunity. Since its publication in 1858 his *Life* has served as a source book for the greater number of Jefferson biographies, until in very recent years the microfilm and the photograph have brought Jefferson's treasures within the reach of countless scholars. In 1856 Mr. Grigsby, apparently, decided that he would like to make the acquaintance of Mr. Randall, who lived in Cortland Village, New York, and discuss with him certain historical points of no great importance—more particularly whether May 20 or 30, 1775, was the authentic date of the Mecklenburg Declaration. To this end he secured a letter of introduction from George Wythe Randolph, one of Jefferson's grandsons. The two gentlemen eventually met and a correspondence ensued which lasted for five years. For dullness and lack of interest it would be difficult to find the equal of these eighty-one letters, which turned up a while ago among the papers of the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California. The two editors, one professor of history emeritus in the University of California at Los Angeles and the other, his son, associate professor of history in the University of North Carolina, attempt in an introduction of some twenty pages to convince the

reader of the importance of their undertaking and the value of the observations of the two prosy, middle-aged men. Mr. Grigsby, alas, gives the impression that he is more interested in domestic matters than in historical questions. As for Mr. Randall, it is truly difficult to understand how a man could have lived in spirit with Jefferson for so many years, could have worshipped him as Randall did, and still have imbibed so little of that spirit. The notes to the text are good.

MARIE KIMBALL, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

NANCY HANKS LINCOLN: A FRONTIER PORTRAIT. By *Harold E. Briggs*, Professor of History, Southern Illinois University, and *Ernestine B. Briggs*. (New York, Bookman Associates, 1952, pp. 135, \$2.50.) The late James Garfield Randall once wrote of Nancy Hanks Lincoln: "There is little reliable evidence concerning her." And he added: "In life and death her brief story was that of the American pioneer woman." This last, the authors of the first essay at her biography have adopted as thesis and printed upon the verso of the dedicatory leaf. She was, she must have been, they seem to say, typical of her place and time, a creature to be projected upon environment, indistinguishable from other forlorn components of frontier society. Certainly the authors have reached this conclusion (or confirmation) only after the most rigorous research. They have read widely, traveled over the way that Nancy traveled, ransacked the records of county courts, tested conflicting traditions and banished many, established a few dates and disputed others, and then, from a reconstruction of her world, conjured an ectoplasm to inhabit it. The text is pitted with phrases of scholarly reservation: "it is said," "it is probable," "it is assumed," "it is supposed," "so far as is known," "it is not definitely known," "the probability is," which, however necessary, communicate a sense of speculation, uncertainty, and anxious dubiety. Although undocumented, the background is detailed and assured; only the portrait is dark, expressionless, reft of features. About all that can be said of Nancy Hanks, Edgar Lee Masters said long ago of another woman in Abraham Lincoln's life: "Out of me unworthy and unknown / The vibrations of deathless music."

DAVID C. MEARNs, *Library of Congress*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN. By *Herbert Agar*. [Brief Lives, Number 6.] (New York, Macmillan, 1952, pp. 143, \$1.75.) This volume of only about 40,000 words is part of a series addressed primarily to the British public. In selecting Mr. Agar to write about Abraham Lincoln the editors of the series made a most promising choice. His academic training, his widely varied experience in journalism and public affairs, and the quality of his earlier books, indicated unusual qualifications for the task. To the reviewer the performance does not seem to measure up fully to the promise. Much of the shortcoming may well be attributed to the attempt of the author to do more than could be achieved in so diminutive a volume. He has attempted a pen portrait of Lincoln, the man, and a narrative of the times in which Lincoln played a leading role. The portrait is striking and, the reviewer thinks, as true to life as any portrait can be. The narrative of the times, however, is marked by much doubtful interpretation, by a good deal of unwarranted aspersion upon some of Lincoln's contemporaries, and by considerable acceptance of evidence of doubtful validity.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON, *Dartmouth College*

LINCOLN AND THE RUSSIANS. By *Albert A. Woldman*. (Cleveland, World, 1952, pp. ix, 311, \$5.00.) Despite the claims of the publisher that this is "the first volume to explore extensively a much neglected aspect of American diplomatic relations: American-Russian relations prior to the first World War," the fact is that Mr.

Woldman (who has devoted considerable study to Abraham Lincoln) tells us little that is not already known about this area of diplomatic history. What we read principally is a series of lengthy excerpts from Russian Minister Edouard de Stoeckl's correspondence to his foreign ministry which (1) attempt to characterize Lincoln and (2) comment upon the American Civil War. Both sets of commentaries miss the mark more often than not. De Stoeckl had little regard for the President's abilities and was generally contemptuous of the quality of Northern military skill and political leadership. Even so, Lincoln hardly emerges from remoteness in Mr. Woldman's presentation, except at the time of his assassination. Here the author gives over a chapter to Russian tributes to the wartime President, including a memorable eulogy by Tolstoy. Cassius Clay and Simon Cameron, our two ministers to St. Petersburg during this period, are duly represented in their dispatches to Washington. Mr. Clay's consist largely of complaints about his financial troubles and of the cold Russian climate. The old materials on the coming of the Russian squadrons to New York and to San Francisco are discussed in detail. There is, however, some freshness in the author's treatment of Russian attempts at mediation at the beginning of the war. Despite a tone of high seriousness, the book leaves an impression of flamboyancy. The writing is full of clichés. Notably absent from the bibliography are pertinent volumes by David J. Dallin, Foster Rhea Dulles, and Edward C. Kirkland. Lincoln's own firm view of Russia, incidentally, was the following: "a country where they make no pretense of loving liberty." Mr. Woldman's main thesis (presumably) is the paradox—the "strange alliance" between "Autocratic Russia and a Democratic America."

DAVID HECHT, *New York, N. Y.*

SHERIDAN: THE INEVITABLE. By *Richard O'Connor*. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1953, pp. vi, 400, \$4.50.) The best modern military biographies, exemplified by D. S. Freeman's *Lee* and Kenneth Williams' study of U. S. Grant, attempt—with detailed documentation—to analyze the elements of command. Such a study might well be made of General Philip H. Sheridan. In the opinion of Grant, who was undoubtedly first of the commanders in the Civil War, Sheridan ranked only slightly behind W. T. Sherman and well ahead of George Gordon Meade or George H. Thomas. Neither contemporary critics nor later students have been able to understand this evaluation, and Richard O'Connor's biography of Sheridan throws little new light on the mystery. A pugnacious little Irishman without social graces or personal attractiveness, Sheridan did poorly at West Point and spent eight undistinguished years in the army before the Civil War. At the beginning of the war, he was a captain on Henry W. Halleck's staff in St. Louis, winning that officer's approbation for his efficiency at a desk. It was more than a year after Fort Sumter that he became the colonel of a Michigan regiment. Thereafter his promotion was rapid, and his military career at Perryville, Chickamauga, Stone's River, Booneville, Yellow Tavern, in the Shenandoah, and around Richmond was a series of increasingly important victories. "In Sheridan," says the author, "the elements of audacity and caution and an unmatched appreciation of the value of swift maneuver were so well balanced that he never made an important error in generalship either of commission or omission." Perhaps this—a demonstration that nothing succeeds like success—accounts for both Grant's and author O'Connor's admiration. It was an admiration which was not shared universally by Sheridan's contemporaries. Until his death in 1888, his career was marked by constant criticism. As military governor of Louisiana and Texas during Reconstruction, and as director of operations against the western Indians, he showed that his talents were adapted only to the battlefield. Even there, the opinion of a court of inquiry on the removal of G. K. Warren at Five Forks and

Sheridan's support of George A. Custer threw doubts upon his genius. He lived and died a controversial figure, and it is unfortunate that the author has chosen to present him as a personality rather than to attempt the kind of careful, detailed analysis that Freeman and Williams have given their subjects.

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE, *Rice Institute*

SIDEWHEELER SAGA: A CHRONICLE OF STEAMBOATING. By *Ralph Nading Hill*. (New York, Rinehart, 1953, pp. xii, 342, \$5.00.) Part II, consisting of the last four chapters of this volume, is the only part of this book likely to arouse the interest of the student of the history of water transportation. These chapters, for which the author is a little apologetic since they deal with a quite minor episode in the larger story, are devoted to an enthusiastic account of the successful movement to restore to active service on Lake Champlain the veteran sidewheeler *Ticonderoga*, described as "the last but one of her type remaining in America," and "virtually the last steamboat built in the Grand Tradition." The story of the rescue of this venerable sidewheeler from the wrecking crew by a leader in the rescue operation is in itself an interesting historical document and makes very good reading as well. That this operation culminated in the purchase of the *Ticonderoga* for preservation as a historical "monument," is welcome news to everyone interested in industrial Americana. Sidewheelers as a class are not quite so extinct as the language of the author suggests. According to the records of the Treasury Department, there were as of January, 1951, thirty-six active steam-driven sidewheel steamboats in the United States, most of them engaged in the carriage of passengers. If the *Ticonderoga* was the last sidewheeler built in the grand tradition, the tradition itself, at the time of her construction in 1906, was evidently in a state of decline. Her bare surfaces, utilitarian lines, and rectangular wheel-boxes (which all but conceal the sidewheels which were the most distinctive architectural feature of her class) present a dull contrast with those of the Hudson River and Sound steamboats of the mid-nineteenth century. The remainder of the volume, Part I, comprising 236 of the 323 pages, makes no contribution to the history of steamboating. It consists of a loosely organized collection of chapters written in an episodic and anecdotal style designed presumably to attract and hold the interest of the casual reader. The treatment is fragmentary, as well as uneven, ignoring steamboat operations on nearly all the waterways of the Atlantic seaboard except those focusing in the port of New York. The writer of the dust-cover commercial is not too well acquainted with the content of the book whose virtues he extols, describing the volume as "a rich and hitherto unexplored slice of Americana," despite the fact that the bibliography lists some twenty-five books dealing specifically with eastern steamboats and steamboat inventors.

LOUIS C. HUNTER, *Industrial College of the Armed Forces*

THE EMIGRANT TAKES HIS STAND: THE NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN PRESS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 1847-1872. By *Arlo William Andersen*. [Publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association.] (Northfield, Minn., the Association, 1953, pp. vii, 176, \$3.50.) This monograph is a survey of the opinions expressed by leading editors of Norwegian-American newspapers on American public affairs and issues during the years from 1847, when the first such newspaper was printed, until 1872, a date somewhat arbitrarily chosen but marking roughly the end of the first generation of Norwegian-American editors. The author has examined all available files of Norwegian-American newspapers, has checked a few Swedish-American newspapers as well, and has used the relevant secondary sources, including standard treatises on the general American history of the period. There seems to have been only

limited use of material other than editorial in the newspapers examined, such as the frequently published immigrant letters which would have provided some information as to opinion among the immigrants. The volume is rather narrowly confined to editorial opinion, but within these self-imposed limits the author deals thoroughly and clearly with the development of political views by the editors and the emergence of political responsibility in this immigrant group. The principal subjects of comment, as here organized, are politics, foreign policy, slavery, the Civil War and Lincoln, and certain social problems such as public schools, temperance, women's rights, public land policies, and labor. There is a brief summary chapter and an adequate index. The book is well-designed and admirably edited. The author finds that the Norwegian immigrants shifted to the Republican party after initial allegiance to the Democrats, that the editors were moderately expansionist and otherwise alert as to foreign affairs, that the editors reflected in their columns the generally anti-slavery attitude of the Norwegian-Americans, this despite some clerical support of slavery, that Lincoln though criticized was supported, and that the editors were leaders of Norwegian-American public opinion on the social issues that most directly concerned the immigrant group. In general, the author has proved his case that the Norwegian-American newspaper editors, a truly remarkable group, "exercised both faith and intelligence in taking their stand on public affairs."

CARLTON C. QUALEY, *Carleton College*

AMERICAN FOLKSONGS OF PROTEST. By *John Greenway*. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953, pp. x, 348, \$6.75.) Most historians, and others who have no special interest in folklore, will be very little disturbed by Greenway's book. To the folklorist, however, the book is something else. Here is a book called *American Folksongs* which contains not a single example of what a competent folklorist would call by that name. Folksongs are songs that are traditional, that are handed down from singer to listener, and that are still alive. The songs in this collection are not anonymous and most of them are dead, preserved only in museums. They are not and never were folksongs. But the book is a good collection of songs written as part of the American labor movement from the beginning of our national life down to the present time. Good texts of these are not easy to come by, and it is convenient to have them. They belong to American history, just as all other individual inventions belong to American history. Most of them have been made up by people very close to the movements concerned, sometimes very humble members of the group, sometimes professional agitators. A great many of these songs were important in the movements of which they were a part; most of them were written to be used in processions and other kinds of protest meetings. I am sure the historian may find the book a very real addition to his library. STITH THOMPSON, *Indiana University*

THE FARMERS' MOVEMENT, 1620-1920. By *Carl C. Taylor*. [American Sociology Series.] (New York, American Book Company, 1953, pp. vii, 519, \$5.50.) *The Farmers' Movement, 1620-1920*, is not, as its name implies, a history of farmer movements over this three-century period. It is rather an attempt to identify and analyze common types of behavior on the part of farm groups in their efforts to correct what they considered to be maladjustments or injustices. The major part of the book describes in some detail the numerous situations in which farmers have become acutely dissatisfied with their lot and the organizations and activities that grew out of their dissatisfaction. Most of the farmer organizations and of the more violent agrarian upheavals are touched upon, but usually not with a view to analyzing the issues

involved or appraising the lasting effects of these sporadic efforts to bring about change by aggressive and often disorderly processes. Instead, the book undertakes to show by numerous quotations the attitudes of prominent farmer participants in the movements as expressed in their own words and in the resolutions adopted by their organizations. It is not until the final and very brief chapter that an attempt is made to develop concepts and draw conclusions. Basing his thinking largely on Veblen and John R. Commons, the author arrives at a hypothesis which he states as follows: ". . . just as the various and varying struggles of laborers arose out of, and have always revolved about, the issues of wages, hours, and working conditions, and just as all these struggles combined to constitute the American labor movement, so the various and varying struggles of farmers arose out of, and have always revolved about, the issues of prices, markets and credits, and all these struggles combined constitute the American Farmers' Movement." This reviewer finds himself more in accord with the statement which the author quotes, with approval, from Heberle, namely, that "mere like sentiments and like actions which occur independently among a large number of people do not constitute a movement; nor does mere imitative mass action." To base a concept of farmer movements so largely on the relatively radical and violent episodes here described seems to this writer a too narrow approach. Farmers did sway national policies in very significant ways during the formative years of the nation, but usually without violence or even formal organization. The profound influence of frontier attitudes on national life in the first half of the nineteenth century was not marked, in the main, by turmoil and strife but rather by the transmission of ways of thinking and by the ballot box. In later years, the somewhat idealistic reform movement of the first decade of the present century also rested heavily on farmer support and interest. Most farm prices were rising, schools and roads were being improved, homes were being made better, and farmers were moderately content with their lot. These things too were part of the evolving philosophy of American farm people.

M. R. BENEDICT, *University of California*

THE POLITICAL LIBERALISM OF THE NEW YORK *NATION*, 1865-1932. By *Alan Pendleton Grimes*, Associate Professor of Political Science, Michigan State College. [James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume XXXIV.] (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1953, pp. ix, 133, \$1.25.) Professor Grimes in this monograph has attempted to cover the history of American liberalism from the Civil War to the New Deal. The word "political" is used by the author in the wider sense of "social." Thus he devotes a substantial amount of space to economic issues. The focus is on the *Nation* on the ground that it was the chief literary vehicle for liberalism. Professor Grimes begins with the founder, Edwin Laurence Godkin, and the *Nation* as the exponent of the "old liberalism" of laissez faire, and he ends with the regime of Oswald Garrison Villard and the "new liberalism" of social reform. The *Nation* is treated generally as the work of the chief editor both for the early era of unsigned articles and for the later period of signed contributions. Some of the inconsistencies and contradictions that Professor Grimes finds, especially in the period of the "old liberalism" may be due to the fact that anonymity does not distinguish between one and more than one writer on the same issue. Certainly the reader would not gather from the author's account that such spokesmen for what became the "new liberalism" in the Anglo-American world, such as A. V. Dicey, Richard T. Ely, and Henry Carter Adams, were among the contributors in the era of the "old liberalism." Recently, but too late for Professor Grimes's use, there has appeared Daniel C. Haskell's superb *The Nation: Indexes of Titles and Contributors* (see *AHR*, October,

1953, p. 219). Still, Professor Grimes's monograph should be serviceable to those seeking a handy compendium of the views of the journal that in its heyday under Godkin was the most influential organ in the country.

JOSEPH DORFMAN, *Columbia University*

JEWISH LABOR IN U.S.A., 1914-1952. By *Melech Epstein*. (New York, Trade Union Sponsoring Committee, 1953, pp. viii, 466, \$5.50.) One year before the tercentenary of the earliest landing of Jews in America, Melech Epstein has completed his history of the Jews in the American labor movement. In his first volume, published several years ago, Epstein told the story of Jewish labor up to the start of World War I. In this, his second and last volume, the well-known Yiddish journalist and former radical continues the story to 1952. Actually, this volume is a history of two unions dominated by Jews, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, with only fleeting references to Jews in other unions. Since these two unions are the two most important so-called Jewish unions, Epstein was justified in making this division of his work. Moreover, he realized that the Jews in these unions did not only concern themselves with labor relations but also were involved in politics and American and international Jewish relations. Epstein, therefore, describes at some length the unions' activities in these fields. A study of a union like the International Ladies Garment Workers Union of course requires research in the activities and struggles of Communists, Socialists, anarchists, pure-and-simple-trade unionists, not to mention workers of many national origins. Important in the struggle of these groups for power were such fascinating individuals as Schlesinger, Brandeis, Hillquit, Sigman, and Dubinsky. It is no wonder that more books appear about the Jewish labor movement than any other part of the American labor movement. In the course of his volume, Epstein has fallen into some minor errors such as the use of wrong first names and wrong titles. There are also points over which Epstein and others in the field might differ. But all in all, he has written a valuable and informative work. ALBERT A. BLUM, *New York, N.Y.*

GRINNELL COLLEGE. By *John Scholte Nollen*. (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1953, pp. xi, 283.)

THE STORY OF CYRUS AND SUSAN MILLS. By *Elias Olan James*. (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1953, pp. vi, 275, \$5.00.) Here are two minor and unsatisfactory contributions to the history of American higher education. Both testify to the lapse from critical scholarship that characterizes all but a few studies in the field. Professor James of Mills College offers a sentimental biography of the missionary couple who returned from the Pacific islands to found what was intended as a West Coast replica of Mary Lyon's Mount Holyoke. Anecdotal and genealogical in content, the book will find readers mainly among elderly alumnae. Even they may be cloyed by the mannered intimacy of style and disappointed that only a small fraction of the book relates to the college. Before his death in 1952, former President Nollen prepared a conscientious chronicle of the first century of Grinnell College. To this brief and conventional account have been added several topical chapters by other hands. The whole is a history of educational administration rather than of thought and scholarship. The subjects of these two books offered exciting opportunities for significant contributions. Both Mills and Grinnell represented serious attempts to recreate the New England college west of the Mississippi. How were these objectives affected by environmental influences? What, for example, was the peculiar role of the private college oriented to religious loyalties in states with distinguished public

universities? What were their sources of support and their clientele? Such basic problems as these in the sociology of higher learning are never explored. Nor do either of these books tell us much about the actual processes of study in the respective colleges. What and how did the students learn? How were the faculties recruited and on what bases were they advanced? Until the American college comes to look upon its history as a subject for scholarly investigation rather than as the resort of the antiquarian and the public-relations expert, the prospects for a synthetic history of American thought and learning will remain dim. THOMAS LEDUC, *Oberlin College*

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS. Volume XIII, JANUARY 1-DECEMBER 31, 1951. Edited by *Raymond Dennett* and *Katherine D. Durant*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press for World Peace Foundation, 1953, pp. xxiv, 626, \$7.50.) The fifteen main headings of the 1951 volume of *Documents on American Foreign Relations* are identical with those for 1950, with the exception of the third and fourth. These are, respectively, "National Defense" and "Economic and Military Cooperation" in the latest volume, "Economic Development" and "National Defense" in the earlier one. Among the events of 1951 here recorded in the relevant documents are the removal of General MacArthur from his Far Eastern command; replacement of the Economic Cooperation Administration by the Mutual Security Agency (signifying the shift from Marshall Plan to NATO); the Senate debate over use of United States troops in Europe, ended by passage of a resolution upholding the President's policy; the decision to integrate the Federal Republic of Germany within a European community; the signing of a peace treaty with Japan and security treaties with Japan, the Philippines, and Australia and New Zealand. Useful minor features of this and preceding volumes are the lists of international organizations in which the United States participates and of the conferences at which it has been represented in the course of the year. An indication of the bewildering amount of international business in which the United States government takes part is the space of over sixteen pages occupied by the bare list of such conferences. With this volume the World Peace Foundation relinquishes responsibility for the preparation of this valuable series (began in 1939) to the Council on Foreign Relations, which will carry it on as a complementary series to the well-known annual publication, *The United States in World Affairs*. It is to be hoped that the new sponsors will be able to expedite the process of compilation, which has begun to lag. Whereas the preface of the 1950 volume was dated July 20, 1951, that for 1951 bears the date February, 1953. Other things being equal, the more prompt the publication, the more useful the product.

JULIUS W. PRATT, *University of Buffalo*

THE QUARTERMASTER CORPS: ORGANIZATION, SUPPLY, AND SERVICES. Volume I. By *Erna Risch*. [United States Army in World War II: The Technical Services.] (Washington, Department of the Army, 1953, pp. xvi, 418, \$3.25.) While reading Dr. Risch's excellent account of the Quartermaster Corps in World War II—the first of four volumes on the QMC—I was struck by the number of items of popular interest. The QMC's services touched each soldier, providing equipment from shoe-pacs to machetes and bedding and feeding the Army. Dr. Risch commendably admits that many things were far from perfect, and then explains why. Many shortcomings can be traced to the financial starvation during the years of peace. Deficiencies were particularly noted in planning, production control, and stock control. Under the Army's expansion, the corps's cumbersome administrative methods broke down. Unforeseen demands caught the corps unprepared, and new equipment had to be developed. As Dr. Risch points out, there were mistakes which might have been

avoided. Early field rations were designed solely for nutrition, with each packet an essential component of a delicately balanced diet. But the men threw away the unpalatable parts. The corps quickly learned its lesson. The 1941 uniform was neither a dress uniform nor good combat clothing. The most important innovation for cold weather wear was the "layering principle" utilizing woolen innerwear covered with a wind-proof cotton field jacket. The quartermaster of the European Theater, however, favored a smart-looking British-type short wool jacket, known as the "Eisenhower jacket." The compromise proved unworkable: "... men returning from the Mediterranean Theater revealed that they obtained the additional warmth made necessary by their refusal to wear the short wool jacket for both combat and dress either by wearing two sweaters or by cutting a blanket to fit and sewing it inside the [field] jacket." The author's major problem in this well-written book was that the quartermaster's activities did not easily lend themselves to an integrated treatment. The chapters on research are followed by discussions of the vitally important but dry subjects of forecasting war requirements, procurement policies, production control, storage, and stock control operations. In order to present a closely reasoned survey of these operations, Dr. Risch has chosen to treat them as independent activities. It is unfortunate that the 150 pages on research and development could not have been issued separately for the popular distribution their content merits.

MARVIN D. BERNSTEIN, *Washington, D.C.*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

JOHN WISE: EARLY AMERICAN DEMOCRAT. By *George Allan Cook*. (New York, King's Crown Press, 1952, pp. ix, 246, \$3.50.) Parrington's complaint a quarter of a century ago that "posterity has been too negligent of John Wise hitherto," will not need to be repeated if George Allan Cook's recently published biography receives the attention that its subject deserves. For at last, three centuries after his birth (in 1652), this "extraordinary country preacher" of colonial New England who so championed democracy in the church, who believed that "democracy is Christ's government, in church and state," is the subject of a full-volume biography. John Wise was indeed "extraordinary." To use Professor Cook's own introductory summary, "He was chaplain in two military expeditions; leader of his town in protest against an arbitrarily imposed tax [for which he spent three weeks in jail]; spokesman for one of the earliest versions of the challenge 'No taxation without representation'; petitioner for two of the most vigorously prosecuted victims in the Salem witchcraft trials; defender of democracy in the government of church and state; writer of satire and persuasive argument; first notable American advocate of the 'natural rights' school of philosophy; and sponsor of paper money, singing by note, and smallpox inoculation." Professor Cook refers also to "legends" that the Reverend Mr. Wise once "downed a neighborhood wrestling champion" and once "prayed his parishioners free from pirates' hands," and concludes: "But whatever his physical and spiritual prowess may have been, he was indisputably a man of great force of mind and character." More than a third of Professor Cook's biography is a presentation and analysis of Wise's two great writings, *The Churches Quarrel Espoused* and *A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches*, with an account of the occasions for them. This book, then, with its assembly of facts regarding John Wise, its research gleanings that are suggestive where direct knowledge is lacking, some three dozen pages of citations and notes, a fifteen-page bibliography, and index, is a welcome addition to American history and literature. It should end our negligence and lead to renewed appreciation of this preacher-protagonist of democracy whom Moses Coit Tyler called "the most powerful and brilliant prose-writer produced in this country during the colonial time."

HOWARD ZAHNISER, *Washington, D.C.*

COUNTERFEITING IN COLONIAL NEW YORK. By *Kenneth Scott*. [Numismatic Notes and Monographs, Number 127.] (New York, American Numismatic Society, 1953, pp. 222, plates, \$4.50.) From this narrow, though conscientious, study, a few by-products of real value emerge. Mr. Scott has gone through public documents and newspapers, noting references to the activities of counterfeiters in New York from 1711 to the Revolution. The book is largely a narrative of successive trials for counterfeiting. The author sets forth the court proceedings in detail and paraphrases testimony at considerable length. Case follows case, and when so many have been covered, they

constitute a chapter. Many of the details seem pointless and the repetition becomes so tedious after a while that the book is hard to read through. The author treats only the crime and not its sociology; hence any wider implications the reader is forced to glean for himself. The total effect, however, gives a fairly vivid impression of certain aspects of colonial life. In the persistent violations of the laws against counterfeiting, the testimony given at the trials, the alarms registered in the newspapers, we get a glimpse of a desperate fringe of the population, habituated to crime. Counterfeiting of paper money was an obvious path to illicit gain. The paper bills printed by the various colonies were easily copied, and the ordinary citizen did not often bother to scrutinize the money that passed through his hands. People accepted the crudest imitations, overlooking mistakes in design, differences in paper, and even spelling errors in common words. Counterfeiters frequently operated in localities where bills of more than one province circulated. In New York, for example, they passed the bills of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Connecticut. They often escaped punishment by flight to a neighboring province; whether they were captured and returned depended on the existing harmony, or lack of it, between the provinces concerned. Mr. Scott infers from statements of public authorities and the frequent notices in the press, that counterfeiting was more widespread than the number of arrests and convictions would imply, and that a great deal of bad money circulated in colonial times. It was said on one occasion that an intercolonial league existed which included hundreds of people who co-operated to pass false money. The penalty for counterfeiting New York's currency was early raised to death without benefit of clergy. Those who took the risk included a few artisans and respectable farmers, lured by the prospect of easy gain or the wiles of practiced criminals. In one instance, several men of good family were found guilty. The most spirited chapter of the book relates episodes in the career of an accomplished rogue, Samuel Ford, who allegedly studied engraving in England and returned to make paper money so fine that it could not be distinguished from the genuine article. He was much admired by his loyal associates, who called him "treasurer for the three provinces [New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania]." Discovered, and at length pursued, he escaped to the Ohio Valley and was never seen again. The practice of counterfeiting, however, was seldom relieved by any touch of gallantry. It stands forth in the court records as a sordid business. Most of the offenders were ignorant, violent men, crude and impulsive in their misdeeds. Frequently, they had criminal records. They seem to have belonged to a depressed class of the colonial population, addicted to crime and living irregular lives.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

A HISTORY OF THE SOUTH. By Francis Butler Simkins. [Originally published as *The South Old and New: A History, 1820-1947*.] (2d rev. ed.; New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1953, pp. xiii, 655, xxiii, trade \$7.50, text \$5.75.) In 1947 Professor Simkins published *The South Old and New*, which was a history of the section from the beginning of the slavery controversy in 1820. He has now added six chapters which carry the narrative back to the beginning of settlement, and two which take it forward to the presidential election of 1952. The earlier chapters demonstrate an awareness that the South has many traditions and institutions which stem from the heritage of colonial times, but the author still holds that "the main justification for regarding the section below the Potomac as a distinctive province was its refusal to accept the freedom and equality of the Negro." If history was once regarded as past politics, it is now often treated as present politics. To write while carrying the torch is likely to blind the author to all that which does not fall within the limited glow of his fagot. It is, for instance, quite true that Jeffersonian Democracy did not, in all respects, measure up to modern standards of equality, but to declare that "The liberties allowed by the Bill of Rights were in practical application for the benefit of the aristocrats, . . ." is, to say the least, stretching a point. There are those who will disagree with many of the facile pronouncements of the author, yet this is a charmingly written book and one which presents an excellent résumé of the history of a section which is none too easy to understand. The reviewer wishes that more space had been devoted to the years between 1783 and 1820, for it was during this period that the states took shape and the old Southwest was settled. It was also the time when the South played its most constructive part in national affairs.

THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY, *University of Virginia*

THE SOUTH CAROLINA GAZETTE, 1732-1775. By *Hennig Cohen*. (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1953, pp. xv, 273, \$6.00.) This is a study of the southern colonial newspaper of which the longest and most complete file has been preserved (by the Charleston Library Society). A brief account of the *South Carolina Gazette* is followed by chapters on various phases of cultural life—"Club Life and Societies," "Teachers," "Doctors," "Artists," and other topics. In each case there is a list of "First Notices" of the subject, which "deal with aspects of culture for which repetitious items have no significance," or "Notices," which "deal with aspects of colonial culture for which repetitious items are significant." An appendix, containing biographical sketches of the editors of the newspaper, is followed by a list of works cited and an index (which would be more useful if it contained a larger number of general subject headings). The result is a picture, somewhat incomplete because of the nature of the source, of the cultural life of the Charleston area for that period, and the checklists will be useful for future research. Even more worthwhile would have been a detailed index (such as that of the *Virginia Gazette*) or a study of all phases of life as seen in the *South Carolina Gazette*. To have produced either, however, would have been a task much broader than the author set for himself, and in this limited study he has made a valuable contribution.

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN, *North Carolina Department of Archives and History*

THE LETTERS OF WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS. In five volumes. Volume I, 1830-1844. Volume II, 1845-1849. Collected and Edited by *Mary C. Simms Oliphant*, *Alfred Taylor Odell*, and *T. C. Duncan Eaves*. Introduction by *Donald Davidson*. Biographical Sketch by *Alexander S. Salley*. (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1952, 1953, pp. clii, 456; xxix, 610, \$8.50 per vol.) Naturally the launching of this huge edition is more of an event among students of American letters than among students of American history. But the historians are not without cause for excitement in the matter. It is true that Simms directed the bulk of his tremendous energies into his writing, and that he was the author of eighty-two volumes, including thirty-four works of fiction, nineteen volumes of poetry, three of history, and six of biography. But he wrote at a furious pace and seems to have had time and energy to spare for a wide range of public affairs. His prodigious labors as an editor of newspapers and magazines kept him in close touch with events of his times and established personal friendships among a circle not ordinarily cultivated by novelists and poets. Though he held public office only three times, he cultivated intense political interests and was the correspondent and advisor of major political figures of South Carolina. In the sixty years since it appeared, William Peterfield Trent's little biography of Simms has been the standard reference, faithfully echoed as the final authority on the subject. The patronizing approach and Victorian outlook of this scholar of the New South school have aroused some suspicion regarding his interpretation of Simms, but these two volumes of letters reveal how much of a travesty Trent actually perpetrated. The myth of the poor boy of humble birth snubbed by high and mighty aristocrats and the legend of a great talent truckling for favor and perverted to narrow ends and unworthy purposes are forever dissolved by the evidence of these letters. Instead there emerges the picture of a man who thoroughly "belonged" in his society, a completely integrated, creative, and refreshingly salty personality highly worth knowing. The scholarship of the editors of the first two volumes is admirable. The notes are full and explicit and the identification of personalities and events ample. In each volume is a calendar of letters, and in the first volume is an illuminating critical appraisal of Simms by Donald Davidson, a scholarly biographical study of the novelist

by A. S. Salley, and a most helpful collection of sketches of the leading correspondents of Simms by Alfred P. Aldrich.

C. VANN WOODWARD, *Johns Hopkins University*

STEPHEN F. AUSTIN, FATHER OF TEXAS. By *Carleton Beals*. [They Made America Series.] (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1953, pp. viii, 277, \$3.50.) The desire to revitalize history, a reaction to the school of the early part of the century that blindly aped the increasingly popular scientific method and stoutly insisted that history should be impersonal, objective, and dry as dust, has carried many to the opposite extreme. Would-be historians in particular have fictionized history in the romantic style, allowing their imagination free play. This biographical study of a truly great pioneer has been distorted in this instance by such an artist into a cartoon of the central figure and his contemporaries. The father of Texas becomes a sickly Quixote, striving against insurmountable odds for an unattainable ideal; the victim of destiny and man's perfidy; a futile Fosdick of the frontier, where rascality triumphed and everybody prospered but the pathetic, honest Steve, as the author continuously calls him. Worn out by hardships and disappointments, the hero sets out for distant Mexico in 1833, against his better judgment but driven by a sense of duty. He survives eighteen months in an inquisition cell nevertheless, drags himself back to Texas like a ghost, becomes the phantom spirit of revolt, undertakes the command of military operations against San Antonio, so sick he can hardly sit his horse. Yet the sick Steve is able to hurry to the United States at the bidding of the provisional government of Texas and accomplishes wonders in getting money, supplies, and volunteers. Neither history nor good fiction, the book reads more like the scenario of a cheap western. The other characters fare no better: Governor Martínez is a portly, dark-eyed official; Alamán, a clerical reactionary; and General Ahumada wears a double cartridge belt crisscrossed over his shoulders, a thing unknown then. There is an ocean between this sentimental, impressionistic, biographical study of an empire builder and the classic biography of the man by Dr. Eugene C. Barker. Here is another Texas history book that will spread farther and deepen the traditional animosity against Mexico, contributing little to a better understanding between two peoples that are neighbors.

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

NARRATIVE JOURNAL THROUGH THE NORTHWESTERN REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES EXTENDING FROM DETROIT THROUGH THE GREAT CHAIN OF AMERICAN LAKES TO THE SOURCES OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER IN THE YEAR 1820. By *Henry R. Schoolcraft*. Edited by *Mentor L. Williams*. (Lansing, Michigan State College Press, 1953, pp. xii, 520, \$7.50.) For years it has been necessary for the scholar and others to hunt through at least a dozen major publications in order to get the full story of the Cass expedition to the headwaters of the Mississippi in 1820. Every now and again a new diary of the trip or fresh letters or reports were found and published. Probably the end is not yet, but at least the publication of this volume means that one will find in it all the data of major importance published prior to 1953. In addition, there is quite a body of hitherto unpublished material. The book opens with two dozen pages of editor's introduction, a masterly essay on the background of the expedition. The expedition has never before been put so neatly and authoritatively in its setting. Then follows Henry R. Schoolcraft's account as it appeared in 1821 with the exact title of this book. Even Schoolcraft's footnotes are reproduced, though the editor has supplemented them with many of his own. There are eight appendixes affording other data by Schoolcraft; Governor Lewis Cass himself; John C. Calhoun as Secretary of War and co-sponsor, with President Monroe, of the expedition; and others. Among the last are three members of the expedition, David Bates Douglass, James Duane Doty, and Charles Christopher Trowbridge. Journals by these men are reproduced, as well as their letters relating to the trip. In many ways these are the most valuable additions offered by the editor, though Doty's and Trowbridge's diaries had already appeared in print. The Douglass journal, reports, and letters are completely new, and Mr. Williams is to be congratulated on having found and utilized them. The great pity is that even now the full diary of the trip does not appear, for the editor has cut "ruthlessly," as he himself states. The next task to which he should set himself ought to be a biography of Douglass, incorporating the immense body of his papers which have survived and which Mr. Williams has uncovered. The editor's scholarship in preparing data for this volume is, in most respects, impeccable and admirable. Occasionally he slips, as in the spelling of Samuel Ashmun's name, the confusing use of "pause" once in a while for "pose" in voyageur parlance, and the absolving of Cass from ignoble motives in the war on the government fur factories. The index is not all that could be desired. The only map is the frontispiece, for which a magnifying glass is necessary. Though the type of the book is small, it is quite readable; and its size makes possible the crowding of a great body of data into a book convenient to handle.

GRACE LEE NUTE, *Minnesota Historical Society*

WESTWARD THE BRITON. By *Robert G. Athearn*. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953, pp. xiv, 208, \$4.50.) Soon after the Republic was launched and the West became the Mississippi Valley that frontier attracted a number of British gentlemen who published their impressions both here and abroad. Available in *Early Western*

Travels these constitute excellent source materials for the period. After the Civil War, when the frontier had moved on to the mountain and Pacific Coast West, the number of British travelers grew as railroads were extended and investment opportunities increased. Robert Athearn of the University of Colorado has tracked down 300 volumes left by these visitors, and his book is a synthesis of what they said about the mountain region. This comment is divided into twelve chapters on the western myth, travel, cities, home life, egalitarianism, investment appraisals, climate and soil, law and order, Indians, and the place of the frontier in American development. There are footnotes, an annotated bibliography, and seventeen reproductions of ranching, mining, and sleeping car scenes. Travel literature has its weakness, but its value is also great since observers are usually educated people whose different backgrounds give them an objectivity and a keenness of perception that residents do not have. Since some of them are critical and others sympathetic, there is always the problem posed by the six blind men and the elephant. In making his generalizations, Athearn has avoided the use of the superficial observer but has had to use the cumbersome technique of "On the one hand" and "On the other hand" to show that not all agreed on what they saw. The book could have been made more readable by letting a few travelers tell more of the story themselves. Generally, the Britons had great admiration for the energy of the westerners and the climate of the mountain country but were critical of the social equality practiced there; they were surprised at the type of Indian found around the railway stations and disappointed at not finding the West wilder and woollier; all regarded this region as a land of limitless opportunity and recommended it to both men of small means and of great capital. This volume is a contribution to the social history of the mountain frontier. It might well be followed by a book of excerpts from the travel literature since 1865 in which the observers, in a topical and chronological order, tell their own story.

WALKER D. WYMAN, *Wisconsin State College, River Falls*

ZION ON THE MISSISSIPPI: THE SETTLEMENT OF THE SAXON LUTHERANS IN MISSOURI, 1839-1841. By *Walter O. Forster*, Associate Professor of History and Government, Purdue University. (St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1953, pp. xiv, 606, \$4.00.) This work is a scholarly analysis of the evolution of the polity of the Missouri Lutheran Synod from a hierarchical association (*Gesellschaft*) founded by Martin Stephan in Dresden, Saxony, into a democratic congregational organization in the United States. It is carefully documented, containing appendixes of data on the four vessels chartered by the Saxons, a verified listing of passengers on each, former places of residence and occupations of emigrants, administrative codes for the regulation of the *Gesellschaft* from the time of departure to settlement in Perry County, Missouri, a classified bibliography, and a topical index. An account in chapter one of the general background of German emigration, with emphasis upon the religious motives which prompted the exodus of the Stephanites, is followed in subsequent chapters by a graphic description of the career of their leader. Persons from all walks of life whose spiritual cravings were not being satisfied by the Lutheran State Church came for guidance to Martin Stephan, pastor of St. Johns (1810-38) in Dresden. In time he so captivated his followers as to enable him to obtain an ascendancy over them of which the most ambitious medieval prelate would have been envious. In an atmosphere of blind devotion Stephan and a few of his most trusted followers made detailed plans for the *Gesellschaft's* removal to America. There the last remnant of God's true church of Germany would build its Zion. Amid a most elaborate ritualistic system with its ceremonials and vestments Bishop Stephan was to be set apart from his clerical assistants. The temporary sojourn of the Stephanites in St. Louis was soon marred by the nocturnal escapades of their leader. After his departure with approxi-

mately one half his followers to their place of permanent settlement, rumors and suspicions were given free reign among those temporarily detained in St. Louis. Chaos created by Stephan's banishment was dispelled by the Altenburg Debate between attorney Marbach and pastor C. F. W. Walther, whose polity here set forth formed the foundation for the Missouri Lutheran Church.

CARL MAUELSHAGEN, *Atlanta Division, University of Georgia*

BROADAX AND BAYONET: THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORTHWEST, 1815-1860. By *Francis Paul Prucha*. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1953, pp. xii, 263, \$4.00.) This book affords ample proof that the United States Army provided far more than military protection for the pioneers who settled in the upper Mississippi Valley. Its author is concerned only incidentally with Indian wars and military affairs. He is interested rather in the army's civilizing influence—its contributions to the early economic and cultural development of an area that roughly embraces what is now northern Illinois and the states of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. True, the posts built in this upper Midwest country before 1860 were intended for defense, but, as Dr. Prucha points out, they never became "arenas of conflict." He amply demonstrates that, although the Indians looked upon them as "seats of United States authority" and the pioneers found in them "symbols of security," these forts played their most important role in the peaceful settlement and development of the area they served. After sketching the background for his subject in several opening chapters, the author turns to a phase of frontier military history hitherto largely unexploited. He succeeds in presenting a wealth of evidence to show that officers and enlisted men built roads, bridges, mills, barracks, and fortifications; that far out in the wilderness they cut trees and sawed lumber, made bricks, and quarried stone; that they cleared wooded lands, plowed virgin soil, planted crops, raised vegetables and grain, herded cattle, and in other ways supplemented their monotonous and inadequate army rations; and that they established schools, opened libraries, staged dramatic performances, and organized bands to the benefit of both soldiers and civilians. In a chapter on "Scientific Contributions," Dr. Prucha gives the frontier army credit for the fact that "by the time land-hungry pioneers advanced into the upper Mississippi Valley they had access to an imposing body of information" about the region. They could, for example, learn about climatic conditions from meteorological records kept by post surgeons. And they could read the reports of exploring soldiers like Stephen H. Long, ethnologists like Henry R. Schoolcraft, cartographers like Joseph N. Nicollet, and naturalists like Thomas Say—men who did much to make known to the world the resources of this rich new land. For them all, the very presence of military forts on the frontier was a boon, since they usually were entertained and outfitted at these remote outposts. The findings of frontier reporters were supplemented by artists who produced visual records of the new country and its natives. Among those who pictured the Midwest of the 1830's and 1840's was at least one important military leader—Captain Seth Eastman. Examples of his work help to illustrate the present book, and one of his many views of Fort Snelling decorates the jacket. End-paper maps locate the army posts discussed in the text. The well-designed format and careful editing reflect credit on the historical society which published this useful and informing book.

BERTHA L. HEILBRON, *Minnesota Historical Society*

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Latin-American History

Joseph R. Barager¹

GENERAL

- LIBERATION IN SOUTH AMERICA, 1806-1827: THE CAREER OF JAMES PAROISSIEN. By R. A. Humphreys, Professor of Latin-American History in the University of London. (London, Athlone Press, University of London, 1952, pp. xi,

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

177, 255.) James Paroissien came out to Latin America in 1807, in an atmosphere of high optimism for British trade chances, since British opinion was at the time unrestrainedly excited about the possibilities of conquering the Spanish empire in southern South America, especially the Buenos Aires viceroyalty. He soon faced hard times, and hard defeat, and together with other British friends—one of whom was John Mawe, who would write upon Brazil—left for the safety of Portuguese Brazil. Paroissien's all-round capacity as medico, botanist, merchant, and political agent then led him toward the career which brought him into high commercial and diplomatic places, made him friends as well as enemies, and put him squarely into the politics of the independence movement of Argentina, Chile, and Peru. He was able to land on his feet, on the right side, after a misunderstanding in 1810 which almost ruined and imprisoned him. In his active life of forty-three years—the last twenty-one were lived in Latin-American affairs—Paroissien became, so to speak, a secondary figure of major contemporary position, who is now given a historical position in this biography. For Professor Humphreys, in a lean, restrained style, the career of Paroissien is a mirror of the forces then at work in Latin America: military, diplomatic, and commercial. With the good fortune of finding Paroissien's papers in England, Humphreys has sifted his letters against the background of well-known events and personalities. Paroissien may then be seen as ambitious, energetic, capable, though finally a disappointed man. A useful biography, the book assembles the bare materials for a life, filling in with the people Paroissien came to know. It is a sort of "life and times" biography, much more being known of the times than of the life. Since Humphreys is well at home in the politics and economics of the times we are fortunate to have a sound historical approach, which gives us, as the author says, a career. The slender volume, together with the illustrations, also outlines his activities as aide to San Martín and as a participant in the great events leading up to the liberation of Peru. After that Paroissien was an investor in British-owned silver mines. Economic depression hit him from 1825 to 1827, when death balanced his books.

HARRY BERNSTEIN, *Brooklyn College*

PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON LUSO-BRAZILIAN STUDIES. Held in Washington, October 15-20, 1950, under the auspices of the Library of Congress and Vanderbilt University. Edited by *Alexander Marchant*. (Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 1953, pp. xii, 332.) The 70-odd papers reproduced in this volume vary widely in quality but on the whole form a fine tribute to the efforts of the sponsors and organizers of the colloquium. The articles are organized under six general headings: cultural anthropology, linguistics, fine arts, literature, instruments of scholarship, and history. One of the most valuable of the contributions is Professor Henry Hare Carter's "Development of Luso-Brazilian Studies in the United States, 1920-1950," which contains useful bibliographies of works published and research in progress. Dr. Virgínia Rau's "Arquivos de Portugal: Lisboa" and Professor Bailey W. Diffie's "Bibliography of the Principal Published Guides to Portuguese Archives and Libraries" are helpful bibliographical aids. Dr. Jorge Dias' brief analysis of "Os elementos fundamentais de cultura portuguesa," Professor Robert C. Smith's "The Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Architecture of Brazil," Professor Hernani Cidade's "A literatura brasileira no século xx," and Dr. Sérgio Buarque de Holanda's "As Técnicas rurais no Brazil durante o século xviii" are some of the volume's major papers and illustrate the scope of the colloquium. There are also various suggestions as to fields for future research. All the articles are either written or summarized in Portuguese and English, the colloquium's two official languages.

J.R.B.

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS 1935. In four volumes. Volume IV, THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS. [Department of State Publication 4954.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1953, pp. lxxxix, 988, \$4.00.) This most recent volume of the familiar series of selected documents from Department of State files covers the year 1935. The papers reveal that its events cleared much ground for the ensuing positive developments of 1936 (and after) which firmly constitute the "Good Neighbor" policy. Programmatic statements about it had been made since 1933, but as 1935 drew to a close, the capstones of the New Deal policies toward the other American republics had not yet fully dropped into place. These appeared at Buenos Aires, in 1936. The preliminaries of that conference are in the volume under review. As 1935 opened there appeared a final settlement to one of two stumbling blocks to effective inter-American co-operation. These papers show that by March the Leticia dispute between Colombia and Peru was satisfactorily closed out, leaving only the major problems arising from the bitter, protracted, and complex struggle between Bolivia and Paraguay over the Chaco territory to monopolize diplomatic attention. Some 200 pages here deal with Chaco matters, especially with participation by the United States in a neutrals' mediation group which successfully arranged an armistice and adumbrated some final lines of agreement. Tensions between Argentina and the United States as members, outlined in detail here, complicated an already difficult situation (concluded finally in 1938). Documents touching United States bilateral dealings with nearly all the countries of Latin America indicate that economic problems took precedence over political, social, or cultural concerns. Exceptions include Mexico (church matters), Guatemala, Ecuador, and Nicaragua, where political unrest brought forth views on nonintervention. Brazil's warnings that Japan planned to attack the United States and its offer of help are of some interest. The usual list of papers, notes to them, and an index provide excellent aids to the investigator concerned with this year or this area.

HOWARD F. CLINE, *Library of Congress*

PERON'S ARGENTINA. By *George I. Blanksten*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. xv, 478, \$6.50.) Blanksten devotes approximately the first 100 pages of this book to a hurried survey of pre-Perón Argentina, and then, with this introduction out of the way, he proceeds to document the methods by which Perón controls the country. The constitution of 1949 made changes in the legislative branch of the government leading to greater control by the executive. This was accompanied by similar restraints on the courts, the educational system, and the press. Although Perón claims he is opposed to the large landholders, he has proceeded very slowly and cautiously against them. Actually, Perón has directed his main attack against the urban capitalist. Consequently the dictator's main support comes from the mass of the urban population which feels that its position has improved both socially and economically under the Peronista "reforms." Blanksten's analysis is not necessarily new to any student of Argentina; his contribution lies rather in the fact that he is one of the first to attempt to explain Perón's *Justicialismo* to English-speaking people. According to the Peronistas there are four basically conflicting forces in society: idealism, materialism, individualism, and collectivism. In spite of their conflicts, each of the four has a necessary and desirable role to play in society. By dubious mathematical calculations the role of *Justicialismo* is to reconcile the four conflicting elements and resolve them into the Third Force in the world. "It is an arrangement which guarantees each of the four basic forces the opportunity to exercise its

proper role in society, neutralizes the conflict among the four, and prevents any one—or two—of them from dominating the others."

WALTER V. SCHOLES, *University of Missouri*

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- WRIGHT, ALBERT HAZEN. *Pre-Cornell and Early Cornell*. I: *Agassiz and Cornell*. II: *Letters to C. F. Hartt, First Professor of Geology at Cornell: A Cross-Section of the Agassiz Period*. III: *Cornell's Colors: Cornelian and White*. Studies in History, Nos. 15, 16, 17. Ithaca: Cornell University Library. 1953. Pp. 51; 60; 7. \$1.35 (I), \$1.35 (II), 30 cents (III).
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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

Notice to members about to move: To insure the delivery of your copy of the *Review* you must send your new address, accompanied by your old address, to the office of the Association by the middle of the month preceding the date of issue (i.e., by March 15 for the April issue). Ninety-four copies of the October issue were returned to this office, most of them because the addressee had moved. Because of increased postal rates, return postage alone cost the Association \$20.30. Add to this the cost of mailing these roving copies out again when the addressee lets us know where he is, plus the extra work for the staff, and you will agree that the Association is justified in asking for "costs" for forwarding in the future.

The attention of the members is called to the fact that the committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund of the American Historical Association will finance the publication of books of mature scholarship which make a distinct contribution to knowledge in any field of history. Ordinarily doctoral dissertations or works of more than one volume will not be considered. Manuscripts must be submitted to the chairman, Professor Raymond P. Stearns, 313 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, before April 1, 1954. The committee wishes to emphasize that it will no longer read carbon copies, rough drafts, or manuscripts extensively worked over in longhand.

Other Historical Activities

The papers of Whitelaw Reid (1837-1912) have been presented to the Library of Congress by his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Helen Rogers Reid, and her son, Whitelaw Reid. The approximately 30,000 unbound manuscripts and 170 volumes cover most of Mr. Reid's distinguished career. A series of scrapbooks, evidently kept at the time, deal with his early journalistic work in Ohio and Washington, D.C. The files of correspondence date from about 1869, when he was managing editor of the *New York Tribune*, and continue through the years of his service as editor-in-chief, and through his diplomatic career as United States minister to France (1889-92), member of the American Peace Commission to Paris (1898), and United States ambassador to the Court of St. James (1905-12). There is also a substantial file of addresses, both drafts and final copies, which includes Mr. Reid's correspondence about his speaking engagements as well. When preliminary organization of the papers has been completed they will be available for use under Library restrictions.

Some 27,000 papers of Norman H. Davis (1878-1944) have been received by

the Library as a gift of the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. The papers cover most of Mr. Davis' public career, beginning with his contributions to the work of the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. They contain valuable materials relating to his services to the League of Nations, his work with such organizations as the Foreign Policy Association and the Council on Foreign Relations, and his years as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and Undersecretary of State. There are also files relating to the International Monetary and Economic Conference and the Disarmament Conference, both held in 1933, the 1935 London Naval Conference, and the Brussels Conference of 1937. The Davis papers will be closed to general research for two years, after which most of them will be available for use under Library restrictions.

The papers of the late Senator Robert A. Taft, which are being deposited in the Library, will be withheld, for the time being, from public examination and private view.

A full documentary account of the Civil War military career of General Ulysses S. Grant—from the time he took command of the Federal forces at Irontown, Missouri, on August 8, 1861, until he became President of the United States on March 4, 1869—is contained in 62 volumes of headquarters records which were given to the Library by General Ulysses S. Grant III, grandson of the Civil War commander in chief. This unique set of records, which was the general's personal property, includes copies of letters, telegrams, and memorandums sent and received, and general and special orders issued, in connection with operations from his headquarters during the eight-year period. Other earlier material received by the Library includes a manuscript volume containing Joseph N. Nicollet's record of astronomical observations on latitude and longitude made at various points along the east coast of the United States, 1832-33; and a microfilm copy of the personal papers of Sir Robert Liston while British minister to the United States (1795-1802), from originals in the National Library of Scotland.

The Army has recently declassified many of the captured German documents at the Departmental Records Branch in Alexandria, Virginia. An estimated 6,000 to 7,000 linear feet of German records are now accessible to qualified historians. The declassified records comprise materials of the German Army, mostly of the period between the world wars and of the Second World War, NSDAP documents including files of Rosenberg as "Beauftragter des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Erziehung" between 1935 and 1943, and a large number of files from Reich ministries such as those of Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, the Reichswirtschaftsministerium (1933-45), the Reichsministerium für Rüstung und Kriegsproduktion, and the Organisation Todt. Other record groups represent the Deutsches Auslands-Institut, the Deutsche Akademie (Munich), the Akademie für deutsches Recht, the Deutsch-japanische Gesellschaft, and the Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (1925-33). Materials of interest for special research on the Hitler period are documents concerning

the conspiracy against Hitler in 1944 and the German concentration camps (1937-45) and the Heinrich Hoffmann collection of photographs (1920-44). Detailed descriptions of these records are available at the Departmental Records Branch, Alexandria, Virginia, to which inquiries should be directed. Applications for gaining access to the declassified documents should be addressed to the Office of the Chief of Information of the Army, Attention: Public Information Division, Washington 25, D.C.

The Library of Congress has issued a *Selected List of United States Newspapers Recommended for Preservation by the ALA Committee on Cooperative Microfilm Projects*. It includes information concerning files already microfilmed. Copies may be obtained from the Union Catalog Division, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D.C.

Seven more "Preliminary Inventories" have been issued by the National Archives: No. 56, *Records of the Office of War Information*, compiled by H. Stephen Helton; No. 57, *Records of the Federal Writers' Project, Work Projects Administration, 1935-44*, compiled by Katherine H. Davidson; No. 58, *Records of the United States Court of Claims*, compiled by Gaiselle Kerner; No. 59, *Records of Certain Committees of the Senate Investigating the Disposal of Surplus Property, 1945-48*, compiled by George P. Perros and Toussaint L. Prince; No. 60, *Records of Selected Foreign Service Posts*, compiled by Alexander P. Mavro; No. 61, *Records of the Special Committee of the Senate to Investigate Petroleum Resources, 1944-46*, and No. 62, *Records of the Special Committee of the Senate on Atomic Energy, 1945-46*, both compiled by George P. Perros.

Under a grant from the National Science Foundation, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences is sponsoring a study entitled "A History of the Activities of the Federal Government in Science." The advisory committee consists of I. Bernard Cohen of Harvard, E. C. Kirkland of Bowdoin, W. F. Ogburn of Chicago, Arthur M. Schlesinger of Harvard, and Richard H. Shryock of Johns Hopkins. The project director is A. Hunter Dupree, Research Fellow at the Gray Herbarium. Leslie H. Fishel, Jr., assistant professor of history at M.I.T., is on the staff.

For the past five years (1948-53) the Oral History Research Office at Columbia University has been holding tape-recorded interviews with men prominent in the nation's affairs. More than one hundred memoirs have already been submitted to the special collections department of Columbia University Libraries. Among those whose memoirs have been submitted are William H. Allen, William H. Anderson, Martin C. Ansorge, Boris A. Bakhmeteff (closed), William S. Bennet, Henry Bruere, George F. Chandler, George H. Combs, Jr. (closed), Frederic R. Coudert, William W. Cumberland, James F. Curtis, Malcolm W. Davis, F. Trubee Davison (closed), William A. Delano, Robert L. Duffus, Guy Emerson, James

W. Gerard, Arthur Krock, Albert D. Lasker, Ormsby McHarg, Langdon P. Marvin, Herbert L. May, Carl E. Milliken, Robert L. O'Brien (closed), Edward A. O'Neal, William Phillips, DeWitt C. Poole, Jackson E. Reynolds, George Rublee, Gerhart H. Seger, Nathan Straus (closed), Thomas D. Thacher, Norman M. Thomas, Rexford G. Tugwell (closed), Eva MacDonald Valesh, James P. Warburg (closed), Allen Wardwell (closed), Henry A. Wallace (closed), and Stanley Washburn. In addition to the interviews a study of radio broadcasting was conducted for a year and a half (1950-51), chiefly as an attempt to collect source materials still available, covering the history of a significant American industry. Altogether some fifty reminiscences of men and women who saw and participated in the development of radio broadcasting have been submitted to the library, and at least fifteen more are expected to be added to this number. Among the individuals represented are E. F. W. Alexanderson, O. H. Caldwell, Herbert Hoover, Mark Woods, H. V. Kaltenborn, W. E. Harkness, and Lyman Bryson.

The archives of the Bourbons which had been removed from Naples by Francis II in 1860 and recently returned to Naples from Bavaria, are now housed in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli. The papers will be inventoried, organized, and catalogued, and made available for consultation to researchers and scholars.

The School of Inter-American Studies of the University of Florida, Gainesville, assisted by the Department of Cultural Affairs of the Pan American Union has issued a mimeographed "Survey of Research and Investigations in Progress and Contemplated in the Field of Latin American Subjects in Colleges and Universities in the United States and Canada during the School Year 1952-1953," compiled by Edward Marasciulo. The result of a questionnaire sent to colleges in April, 1953, the survey lists 519 titles.

The Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation issued a "Progress Report, No. 1" in October, 1953. All efforts to organize a second conference on the history of World War II (see report of first conference, *AHR*, July, 1950, p. 1033) having failed, the Institute feels that such progress reports may serve to circulate factual information on the state of documentation, research, and historiography related to World War II. The Institute's address is Herengracht 474, Amsterdam.

Under a five-year Carnegie Corporation grant a Philippine studies program has recently been undertaken in the Chicago area. The historical aspects of the program are centered at the Newberry Library, which has a large collection of Philippine printed works and manuscripts in the Ayer Collection. Paul Lietz, chairman of the department of history at Loyola University, will calendar the documents of the Spanish period, and John L. Phelan of the Newberry Library will write a monograph on the missionary church during the first century of the Spanish colony.

The American Association of the Philippines maintains at the American Embassy in Manila a small research library of materials on the Philippines, especially during the American period. The nucleus of its collection is the gift of former Governor General W. Cameron Forbes of official documents, books, and other materials, which he collected during his residence in the Philippines. This has been supplemented by governmental reports and periodicals donated by the embassy and by gifts from Americans who have resided in the Philippines. Additional gifts or exchanges would be welcomed, especially because wartime destruction of libraries has gravely curtailed Manila's research facilities. Any person or institution in a position to contribute to this library should write to Mr. Arsenio Manuel, Librarian, American Historical Collection, U. S. Embassy, Manila, Philippines.

The National Library of Australia in Canberra has placed on display its copy of the *Inspeximus* issue of Magna Carta. The release from Canberra says, "It is unquestionably the copy intended for the County of Surrey, complete with a recognizable portion of the Seal but without the Writ ordering publication: and may reasonably be presumed to have been handed to the Sheriff of that County."

An Anglo-American committee has proposed for publication, in as complete and accurate a form as possible, the watercolor drawings by John White from the originals in the British Museum, which were for the most part produced in Sir Walter Raleigh's Roanoke colony on the North Carolina coast in the 1580's. The scope of the plan of publication has not been finally determined, but it will in any event include reproductions of the seventy-five drawings by White in the British Museum's Print Room series, together with four other White drawings in the Museum's Sloane MSS. It is proposed to hold the subscription price to about \$75.00. The launching of the project depends in part on the response to this preliminary announcement. Those interested in receiving a detailed prospectus should write to the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Volume III (1953) of the Henry Wells Lawrence Memorial Lectures (Connecticut College), edited by Chester McA. Destler and entitled *Liberalism as a Force in History*, contains the seventh, eighth, and ninth lectures in the series. Titles and speakers are: "The Reasons for the Failure of the Paris Peace Settlement," by Hajo Holborn (1950); "From Individualism to Collectivism in American Land Policy," by Paul Wallace Gates (1951); and "Representative Institutions in England and Europe in the Fifteenth Century in Relation to Later Developments," by Helen Maud Cam (1952).

UNESCO has published the results of an inquiry upon the race question in modern science. Titled *The Race Concept*, the volume contains a "Statement on the Nature of Race and Race Differences" made by physical anthropologists and

geneticists in Paris in June, 1951, and comments by various authorities upon the statement.

The last number of the *Review* (October, 1953, p. 259) carried a notice of the meeting of the Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences at Graz, Austria, in June, and of its deliberations with reference to the International Historical Congress at Rome, September 4-11, 1955. The subjects for the reports, which are being prepared on invitation of the Bureau, and which will be published and distributed to delegates some six months in advance, have now been fixed. These reports will be defended, but not read, at the morning sessions from 9 to 11. The titles follow (the names of the participants cannot yet be given because all acceptances have not yet been received): **First Section, Methodology and General History:** (1) Assemblies of Estates and Parliaments: Origin and Development; (2) The Problem of the Frontier in History; (3) Trends in American History; (4) The Position of Research in Spanish Colonial History; (5) The Survival of Roman Institutions; (6) The Problem of War in History. **Sub-section, Sciences Auxiliary to History:** (1) Paleography and Diplomatics; (2) History of Sources: The Archives of the Vatican; (3) Modern Forms of the Historian's Equipment. **Second Section, History of Antiquity:** (1) The Historical Origins of the Italic Peoples in the Setting of Prehistory in the Mediterranean, and the Early Roman Political and Social Community; (2) Recent Theories of the Chronology of the Ancient East; (3) The Problem of Greek Nationality; (4) The Hellenistic Monarchies; (5) The Development of the *Latifundium* in Italy from the Time of the Gracchi to the Beginning of the Empire; (6) The Constantine Problem. **Third Section, History of the Middle Ages:** (1) Relations between Orient and Occident in the High Middle Ages; (2) Serfdom in Europe in the Middle Ages; (3) Imperium und Nationen; (4) Popular Piety and Heresies in the Middle Ages; (5) The Idea of the Crusades; (6) The European Economy in the Early Middle Ages. **Fourth Section, Modern History:** (1) The Absolute Monarchy; (2) The "Idea" of the Church in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries; (3) Agriculture in Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries; (4) Commerce and Industry in Europe from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries; the Main Currents of Circulation of Gold and the Precious Metals; the Beginnings of Industry in Europe in the Eighteenth Century; (5) The Periodization of the Age of the Renaissance in the History of Italy and in That of Europe; (6) The Bourgeoisie of the West in the Eighteenth and in the First Half of the Nineteenth Centuries. **Fifth Section, Contemporary History:** (1) From the Nationalism of the Nineteenth Century to the World State System of the Twentieth; the Historian and Contemporary History, with a Case Study in the History of World War II; (2) The Technique of the Preparation of Treaties of Peace in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries; (3) Problems in the Social History of the Nineteenth Century; (4) The "Problem" of the Atlantic from the Eighteenth to

the Twentieth Centuries; (5) The Impact of Science and Technology on the Cultures of the Near East and the Far East; (6) Religious Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century.

It should be noted once again that both the second morning sessions, 11:15 to 12:45, and the afternoon sessions, 5 to 7, will be almost exclusively devoted to papers of the type more normally read at historical meetings. These will be twenty minutes in length, and a summary will be placed in the hands of the delegates in advance of the meeting. American scholars who have an interest in presenting papers are urged to submit either the proposed subject or the paper itself, not later than April 1, 1954, to Professor Donald C. McKay, 472 Widener Library, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts, or to Dr. Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary, American Historical Association, Study Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D.C. It is planned that most of the papers will bear a direct relationship to one or another of the reports, but it is recognized that there must be exceptions to this rule. In any event, papers should concern subjects of broad and general interest, suitable to a diverse international audience. The number of papers which can be accepted from any one national group is of course limited. Final acceptance will depend on action, first, by a special committee of the American Historical Association, and, second, by the Bureau of the International Committee. The official languages are English, French, German, and Italian.

The Anglo-American Conference of Historians will be held July 8-10, 1954, at the Institute of Historical Research. Historians from North America who expect to attend are asked to communicate with the Secretary of the Institute (Taylor Milne, Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, London, W.C.1) as soon as possible so that invitations may be sent to them.

The International Congress of Americanists will be held in São Paulo, Brazil, August 23-28, 1954, as part of the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the founding of the city. The themes of the congress will include the history of exploration and colonization of the American world and problems of cultural exchange as well as the usual ones of American ethnology, archaeology, linguistics, and anthropology. Scholars who wish to present papers of twenty minutes length should submit titles and summaries before the end of May. All correspondence should be addressed to A. R. Muller, Escola de Sociologia e Política, Largo de S. Francisco 19, São Paulo, Brazil.

The Société d'histoire de la Révolution française, created seventy years ago, and revived since the last war, held its annual assembly in the Amphithéâtre Louis Liard, at the Sorbonne, June 29, 1953. The meeting, presided over by Georges Bourgin, was devoted to commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Alphonse Aulard, who had been president of the society for many years.

Maurice Guyot, secretary, read messages from President Auriol and from M. Philippe Sagnac, president of the society, who was gravely ill and unable to attend. Professor Dunan spoke on Aulard as historian of the consulate and empire, Albert Bayet on Aulard's personality and work, M. Mirkine-Guetzévitch on Aulard and the constitutional history of the Revolution, Georges Belloni on his personal association with Aulard, and Pierre Renouvin on Aulard as professor at the Sorbonne. M. Bourgin closed the meeting with a talk on Aulard and the Archives. A commemorative issue of the *Cahiers* is to be published, containing these speeches.

The eighth annual Northern New England Historians' Conference was held at Dartmouth College on October 10-11, 1953. About forty delegates attended from Bates, Bowdoin, Colby, Dartmouth, Marlboro, Middlebury, Norwich, St. Anselm's, the University of New Hampshire, and the University of Vermont. The main address was given by Professor Robert K. Carr of the Dartmouth political science department, who spoke on "The Investigating Power of Congress."

The third annual meeting of the New York Association of European Historians was held at Colgate University, October 16-17. Forty-five historians representing nineteen institutions attended. Subjects of the three round-table discussions were: "Some Problems of Imperial Russia before 1917," "Teaching the Elementary Course in European History," and "New Views on Mid-Nineteenth-Century Europe." Officers for 1953-54 are Evelyn Acomb (State Teachers College, New Paltz), president; Raymond O. Rockwood (Colgate University), vice-president; and Wendell N. Calkins (University of Buffalo), secretary-treasurer.

The Upper Midwest History Conference was held October 16 at the University of Minnesota, with Carlton Qualey of Carleton College presiding. Reverend Colman J. Barry of St. John's University read a paper entitled, "The Americanization of German-Catholic Immigrants." Professors Kenneth Bjork of St. Olaf and George Gilkey of State College, River Falls, Wisconsin, were the commentators. Professor Robert Fogerty of St. Thomas College was elected chairman for 1953-54, and Walker D. Wyman of State College, River Falls, was re-elected secretary.

The fourth annual Conference on the Caribbean, sponsored by the School of Inter-American Studies of the University of Florida in co-operation with the Aluminum Company of America, was held in Gainesville, December 3-5. Five round-table sessions discussed various aspects of the general theme: "The Economy of the Caribbean Area."

Twelve students from six universities attended the American Numismatic Society's second summer seminar, in 1953. The seminar will be held again in the summer of 1954 and the society will again offer grants-in-aid to students who will

have completed at least one year's graduate study by June, 1954, in classics, archaeology, history, economics, history of art, Oriental languages, or other humanistic fields. Applications will be accepted also from students at the post-doctorate level who now hold college instructorships in the same fields. Each study grant will carry a stipend of \$500. This offer is restricted to students enrolled in universities in the United States and Canada. Further information and application forms may be obtained from the office of the Society, Broadway between 155th and 156th Streets, New York 32, New York. Completed applications for the grants must be filed by March 1, 1954.

The American Jewish Historical Society (3080 Broadway, New York 27) is conducting a historical essay contest to mark the 300th anniversary of Jewish settlement in the United States. Three awards will be made, either in cash or in the form of scholarships at recognized schools of higher learning. The contest is open to university students on the graduate or undergraduate levels, both Jews and non-Jews. The essays submitted are not to exceed 10,000 words, must be documented, and must not have been published, in whole or in part, elsewhere. All essays must be in before September 1, 1954.

In addition to departmental assistantships and tuition scholarships, the graduate school of Michigan State College offers about twenty predoctoral fellowships and one postdoctoral fellowship each year. Inquiry should be directed to the Dean, School of Graduate Studies, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan.

Three \$4000 postdoctoral fellowships in statistics are offered for 1954-55 by the University of Chicago. The purpose of these fellowships, which are open to holders of the doctor's degree or its equivalent in research accomplishment, is to acquaint established research workers in the biological, physical, and social sciences with the role of modern statistical analysis. The closing date for applications is February 15, 1954; instructions for applying may be obtained from the Committee on Statistics, University of Chicago, Chicago 37.

An inquiry has come from Chartres, France, asking if an American scholar photographed the *Liber nationis normannie* before the partial destruction during a World War II bombardment. If anyone has knowledge of this, will he communicate with Mrs. Dorothy Mackay Quynn, Box 577, Frederick, Maryland.

Mr. Avery Kolb, 2952 South Columbus Street, C-1, Arlington, Virginia, wishes to find source materials of any kind for a life of Homer Lea, American soldier who led Chinese armies during the Boxer Rebellion.

Wilton Lloyd has deposited with the library of the Franciscan Monastery, Washington, D.C., an unfinished manuscript with a plan and some materials for a project on "The Habsburg-Wittelsbach Dynasties." Any scholar adequately

financed by some institution and interested in the history of Bavaria and the old Austrian empire may obtain these materials from the librarian of the monastery for the purpose of completing that project. The guarantee of the sponsoring institution will be the only requirement needed for the cession of these materials.

W. S. Jenkins is continuing his microfilming of state documents (see *AHR*, October, 1948, p. 244). Inquiries may be addressed to Professor Jenkins, Director, State Records Microfilm Project, Box 834, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

William E. Dunn, who retired in 1949 from the foreign service of the Department of State, has been appointed by the American Council on Education to direct a project through which aid has been given schools in Central and South America and the Caribbean area since 1942. The program, supervised by the Council, is operated under contract with the Department of State.

Peter Topping, formerly of the Santa Barbara College of the University of California, has gone to Athens to take up his new duties as librarian of the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Charles A. Johnson, formerly of the University of Maryland, has accepted a position as headquarters historian with the Air Research and Development Command in Baltimore.

Ross W. Collins has been named chairman of the department of history in the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada.

Paul B. Cares was appointed chairman of the department of history in Allegheny College in February, 1953.

Gordon McNeil, formerly of Coe College, has been appointed associate professor, and William Doherty, formerly of the University of Mississippi, assistant professor of history at the University of Arkansas.

At Berea College Elisabeth Peck has retired and Joseph O. Van Hook has succeeded her as chairman of the department of history and political science. Frank Wray, formerly of the University of Vermont, has been appointed assistant professor of history.

Edmund S. Morgan has succeeded William F. Church as chairman of the department of history in Brown University. Donald H. Fleming has been promoted to associate professor.

Leo Gershoy of New York University is serving as visiting professor of history in the University of California at Los Angeles during the current academic year.

Catherine Boyd has been promoted to professor of history in Carleton College.

Jakob A. O. Larsen and Bessie L. Pierce have retired from the University of Chicago with the rank of emeritus. During the fall quarter Professor Larsen served as visiting professor of classics at Northwestern University, and during the second semester of the current year he will go to the University of California as Sather Professor of Classics.

Vaughn D. Bornet, research associate in the department of history of Stanford University, has been appointed research associate of the Commonwealth Club of California.

William L. Winter of the Teachers College of Connecticut, New Britain, has been awarded a Fulbright grant for the current year. He is lecturing at the College of Europe in Bruges and doing research at the University of Ghent.

W. Wallace Carson has retired as head of the department of history in DePauw University but continues part-time teaching. George B. Manhart has succeeded him as department head, and John J. Baughman has joined the staff.

Daniel J. Reed was appointed director of libraries of the University of Detroit effective September 1, 1953. He had been a member of the history department in the university since 1950.

Kenneth R. Rossman, chairman of the department of history in Doane College, Crete, Nebraska, has received a Fulbright lectureship to the University of Helsinki. John Brenneman is acting chairman of the department in Dr. Rossman's absence, and Verlyn Barker is serving as instructor in history for the year.

At Duke University Robert H. Woody has been promoted to professor of history, Alexander DeConde to assistant professor, John B. Oliver to full-time instructor, and Murray Scott Downs has been appointed part-time instructor. Among the thirteen scholars appointed to the new James B. Duke professorships are E. Malcolm Carroll and Charles S. Sydnor, history; Taylor Cole, political science; and Calvin B. Hoover, economics.

Donald F. Tingley has resigned from the Illinois State Historical Library to accept an assistant professorship at Eastern Illinois State College, Charleston.

Edgar I. Stewart has been promoted to professor of history at Eastern Washington College of Education, Cheney.

Howard M. Merriman has replaced Wood Gray as chairman of the department of history in George Washington University. Dr. Gray continues as professor of history. William C. Davis has been appointed associate professor of Latin-American history.

H. Gary Hudson, professor of history and president of Illinois College, Jacksonville, retired on August 31, becoming the first president emeritus in the 125 years of the existence of the college. Dr. Hudson has accepted appointment to the faculty of California-Western University at San Diego.

Robert V. Daniels has been appointed assistant professor of Slavic studies in Indiana University. Elfrieda Lang, who has been assistant editor of the *Indiana Magazine of History*, is now assistant curator of manuscripts in the Indiana University Library.

At the State University of Iowa, Samuel P. Hays, formerly of the University of Illinois, and Herbert H. Rowen, formerly of Brandeis University, have been appointed assistant professors of history, and Richard S. Westfall, formerly of the California Institute of Technology, has been appointed instructor in history. William O. Aydelotte is in England on a year's leave of absence to study the House of Commons in the 1840's, and Charles Gibson is in Mexico City for the first semester of the current year.

John D. Winters, associate professor of history in Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, is on a year's leave of absence for study in the graduate school, Louisiana State University. Marshall K. Powers is substituting for him.

David Joravsky has been appointed instructor in history and political science in Marietta College, Ohio.

New appointments to the University of Maryland European program are Walter B. Posey of Agnes Scott College and Emory University, Alment Lindsey of Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, Richard B. Simons, formerly of the College of Charleston, John F. Murphy, and Robert Shepherd. Roland N. Stomberg and Ralph Klein will remain in the program for the year, and James Kerley returns to it after a year's absence. In the department of history at Maryland Whitney K. Bates, formerly of the Milwaukee division of the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed instructor for the current year, Patrick Riddleberger, who was appointed for part-time teaching last winter, is now a full-time instructor, and Earl S. Beard, formerly of the State University of Iowa, has been appointed instructor.

The University of Michigan announces the promotions of Benjamin W. Wheeler to professor of history and Donald F. Drummond to assistant professor. Howard M. Ehrmann has succeeded Lewis G. Vander Velde as chairman of the

department of history. William B. Willcox has been given a part-time release from his teaching duties for the current year to permit him to participate in an interdisciplinary research and study program under a Ford Foundation grant. Albert Steigerwalt has been appointed assistant professor of business history in the School of Business Administration.

Carlton J. H. Hayes will serve as visiting lecturer in history at Michigan State College during the winter quarter. William A. Sullivan, formerly of Hunter College, has been appointed instructor in history.

At Mississippi Southern College, Porter L. Fortune, Jr., has been named dean of the Basic College and professor of history, J. Treadwell Davis has been promoted to professor of history, and M. L. Eubanks has been appointed acting assistant professor of history. H. W. Rodemann is on leave of absence for the 1953-54 session for graduate study at the University of Chicago.

Benedict K. Zobrist has left the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress to join the staff of the Newberry Library in Chicago.

At the University of North Carolina, Loren C. MacKinney will spend the 1954 spring semester on leave in Italy doing research in medical history. George V. Taylor has been awarded a Fulbright fellowship for the year in order to do research in France. Fletcher M. Green has been named a member of the board of editors of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. Richard Bardolph of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, who was on leave during 1952-53, has had his leave extended for an additional year to permit him to accept appointment as a Fulbright professor of American history and political institutions at Copenhagen, Denmark.

Vernon F. Snow has joined the staff of the department of history in the University of Oregon.

Oscar G. Darlington, formerly chairman of the department of history and political science and director of the area of the social sciences at Champlain College of the State University of New York, has accepted appointment as dean of the college at the Polytechnic Institute of Puerto Rico in San Germán.

William D. Metz of the University of Rhode Island is on sabbatical leave during the current year. Richard Lowitt, formerly of the University of Maryland, has been appointed assistant professor of history for the year.

Brenton Smith has been appointed instructor in history at St. Lawrence University.

Henry M. Adams has been promoted to associate professor of European history in Santa Barbara College of the University of California. He is on sabbatical leave

during the current year, doing research in Europe on German-Italian cultural relations, 1870-1914.

Richard W. Van Alstyne of the University of Southern California has been granted a sabbatical leave for the spring semester. The American Philosophical Society has awarded him a grant to continue his research on "British diplomacy during the War for American Independence, 1775-1782," in England and the United States.

Royal G. Hall has been appointed visiting professor of history and Evans C. Johnson assistant professor of history and political science at Stetson University.

At Sweet Briar College, Jessie M. Fraser retired in June, 1953. James A. Rawley, formerly of Hunter College, has been appointed associate professor of history and chairman of the department. Lysbeth W. Muncy has been promoted to associate professor of history and government.

At the University of Texas Archibald R. Lewis has been named chairman of the department of history. Barnes F. Lathrop has been promoted to the rank of professor, William A. Bultmann of Arkansas State Teachers College is serving as visiting associate professor in English history for the year, and Otis A. Pease has been appointed instructor in history. Dr. Lathrop and Oliver H. Radkey are on leave of absence for the first semester, and J. Harry Bennett, Jr., and Joe B. Frantz are on leave for the year. J. Claude Roberts and George R. Abernathy have received Fulbright grants for 1953-54 and are doing research in Austria and England respectively.

Albert Norman of Norwich University is teaching a course in the adult education program of the University of Vermont during the current year.

Howard C. Payne has been promoted to associate professor of history in Washington State College. He has been granted a year's leave of absence to enable him to accept appointment as Fulbright research scholar in the Archives Nationales in Paris. During his absence his classes are being taught by Daniel Rader.

Heber R. Harper, II, has been appointed instructor in history and government in Wells College, Aurora, New York.

Dirk W. Jellema has been appointed instructor in medieval history in West Virginia University.

John A. Schutz, formerly of the California Institute of Technology, has joined the staff of the department of history in Whittier College.

Margaret S. Ermarth has been appointed associate professor of history in Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio.

Shepard B. Clough of Columbia University is serving as visiting professor of history in Yale University during the current academic year.

Simeon L. Guterman, formerly professor of history in the State Teachers College at East Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania, has been appointed professor of history and acting dean of the College of Arts and Sciences in Yeshiva University, New York.

RECENT DEATHS

Alfons Dopsch, honorary member of the American Historical Association since 1949, died in Vienna on September 1, 1953. He was born in Lobositz in the German section of Bohemia on June 14, 1868. He began his historical work by collaborating upon the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, from which he turned to do research in the social, economic, and constitutional history of medieval Austria. Since 1900 he had held a chair in history at the University of Vienna, where he founded the seminar for "Wirtschafts- und Kulturgeschichte." His editing of the Austrian land registers (*Landesfürstliche Urbare*) brought him general recognition in 1904.

Broadening his basis and his topic, Dopsch published *Die Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit vornehmlich in Deutschland* (2 vols.; 1912-13; two editions) and *Die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Grundlagen der europäischen Kulturentwicklung aus der Zeit von Cäsar bis auf Karl den Grossen* (2 vols.; 1918-20; two editions). His inaugural address as rector of the University of Vienna dealt with the reconstruction of Europe after the collapse of the ancient world (1920). Two volumes of collected essays were edited by his assistant, Professor Erna Patzelt, in 1928 and 1938. His *Die Geschichtswissenschaft in Selbstdarstellungen* (Vol. I, 1924) was an autobiographical essay.

In his major works Dopsch maintained the theory of historical continuity from ancient times to the Middle Ages and differed from historians such as Karl Bücher who assumed the succession of distinct economic types in history. He held membership in many learned societies and academies.

George Edward Woodbine, George Burton Adams professor emeritus at Yale, died on August 20, 1953, at Guilford, Connecticut, at the age of seventy-seven. A member of the department of history and the law school faculty between 1906 and 1944, he was ever a challenging teacher. Master of both law and history, he carried forward the study of medieval England begun at Yale by Adams. For his scholarly writings, the Mediaeval Academy of America, in 1945, awarded him the Haskins Medal. The series of his essays in the *Yale Law Journal* during the twenties and thirties opened afresh the history of English legal actions. By going to the cases themselves, he disclosed the true origins of Trespass; and with factual proof and forceful argument he time and again banished legal historical

myths. In all his scholarship, he constantly championed the writing of fearless history.

His editions of Bracton and of Glanvill exhibit the close reasoning and the precise application of evidence which he taught his students, both graduates and undergraduates, in courses on historical method, England and France, and Anglo-American legal history. In the classroom, the toughness of his mind commanded the admiration of all, and his jovial humor won their affection. Like the medieval men whom he understood so truly, he loved the countryside, and from him students and friends learned lore of sea and stream and field and forest. Sportsman and scholar, he lived a country gentleman cultivating his own vineyard.

Henry Johnson, professor emeritus of history, Teachers College, Columbia University, died in New Rochelle, New York, on October 3, 1953, in his eighty-seventh year. Born in Sweden, he grew up in Minnesota, as he relates in his autobiography, *The Other Side of Main Street* (1943). Following his graduation from the University of Minnesota in 1889 and experience in journalism, high-school teaching, and school administration, he headed the history department of the Moorhead State Normal School (1895-1899) and of the Normal School at Charleston, Illinois (1899-1906). His graduate work was done at Harvard and Columbia universities, the University of Paris, and the University of Berlin. He was professor of history at Teachers College from 1906 to 1933, and continued to give courses at Columbia, Hunter College, the State Teachers College at Montclair, New Jersey, and, in summers, at the universities of Minnesota and Missouri until 1941. The University of Minnesota conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in 1937.

In 1915 Professor Johnson published his distinguished *Teaching of History* (revised in 1940). He served on several American Historical Association committees concerned with history teaching, and on the Commission on the Social Studies, which published his *Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences in the Schools* (1932). He did much in his teaching and writing to promote mature thinking about the teaching of history, and effectively introduced generations of his students to the sources and the literature of American history.

Edgar Wallace Knight, Kenan Professor of Education in the University of North Carolina, died August 7 at the age of sixty-seven. Dr. Knight had been professor of educational history at the University of North Carolina since 1919. Recently he completed the last volume of his five-volume *A Documentary History of Education in the South before 1860*. He was an authority on the history of education, and reviewed books in his specialty for the *American Historical Review*.

Gerda Richards Crosby died April 6, 1953, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, at the age of fifty-two. In 1922 she received her A.B. degree at Smith College; her

A.M. and Ph.D. degrees came from Radcliffe in 1923 and 1933. Her doctoral thesis, "The Transformation of the Tory Party after 1780: A Study in Eighteenth-Century Party Politics," won the Caroline I. Wilby Prize for the most original work completed in any department at Radcliffe during that year. She contributed "George III: Historians and a Royal Reputation" to *Essays in Honor of Wilbur Cortez Abbott*, published in 1941, and wrote articles and book reviews for the *American Historical Review* and for the *Yale Review*. From 1942 to 1947 she taught at Wellesley College, at Hunter College, and at Radcliffe. Many students, both undergraduate and graduate, profited by her generous advice and interest in their problems during her life in Cambridge. Her gift for research was enhanced by her enthusiasm and meticulous judgment. Her writing revealed sound scholarship combined with a marked clarity of expression. She was a member of the American Historical Association.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Recently I had occasion to examine *The New Dictionary of American History*, by Martin and Gelber, reviewed in the *American Historical Review*, July, 1953, p. 999. The volume was purchased by our librarian on the basis of that favorable review. I found the book to be totally unreliable, in fact so full of errors and misinformation that it will be a shame to have it on the reference shelves of libraries or schools or in homes where it will be used by school children, college students, and other untrained persons who seek the facts.

Ohio State Archaeological and
Historical Society

JAMES H. RODABAUGH

Editor's Notes

The Managing Editor has been here but a short time. In that short time he has, like a historian, been digging in the files of the *Review* and the Association. This brief experience, this cursory study, has confirmed what he has long believed—that Guy Stanton Ford, his predecessor, was a great editor, is a great leader of men, a great man. Few of us can realize, as this editor does, how he labored for the Association but all of us may know his staunch stand on freedom in the teaching and writing of history. We have read many times and will find support again in a sentence in his 1952 report to the Association: "The only intolerance that befits a democracy is the intolerance of the intolerant whether of the right or left."

Few historians these days write with Parkman's sense of drama. Perhaps few write for pleasure or to be read for pleasure. Perhaps more could and should.

In 1932 a committee of historians of the American Historical Association, headed by Arthur Schlesinger with William L. Langer as its secretary, recommended that book reviews be about the books reviewed and that reviewers save their essays for their own works. We agree. Reviews should evaluate, with reasons, the books being reviewed.

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The Association maintains close relations with the state and local historical societies through conferences at the annual meetings. The Pacific Coast Branch holds meetings in December on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

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PRIZES: The *Albert J. Beveridge Award*, given annually for the best manuscript in the history of the Western Hemisphere, has a cash value of \$1,000 and assurance of publication. Address inquiries to Professor Dorothy Burne Goebel, Hunter College, 695 Park Ave., New York 21, N. Y.

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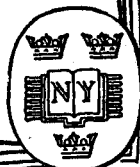
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